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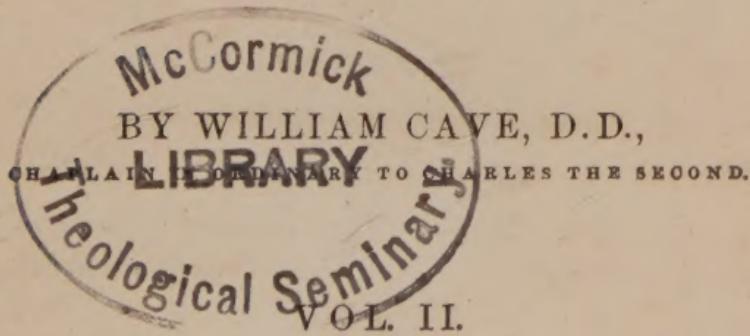
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THE LIVES,
ACTS, AND MARTYRDOMS,
OF THE
APOSTLES OF OUR SAVIOUR.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED
LIVES OF THE EVANGELISTS,
MARK AND LUKE.



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LIVES OF THE APOSTLES.

ST. PAUL.

SECTION VIII.

The description of his Person and Temper, together with an account of his Writings.

THOUGH we have drawn St. Paul at large, in the account we have given of his life, yet may it be of use to represent him in little, in a brief account of his person, parts, and those graces and virtues, for which he was more peculiarly eminent and remarkable. For his person, we find it thus described.¹ He was low, and of little stature, and somewhat stooping, his complexion fair, his countenance grave, his head small, his eyes carrying a kind of beauty and sweetness in them, his eyebrows a little hanging over, his nose long, but gracefully bending, his beard thick, and like the hair of his head, mixed with gray hairs. Something of this description may be learnt from Lu-

¹ Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 37, p. 196.

rian,¹ when in the person of Trypho, one of St Paul's disciples, he calls him by way of derision high-nosed, bald-pated Galilean, that was caught up through the air unto the 'third heaven,' where he learnt great and excellent things. That he was very low, himself plainly intimates, when he tells us, they were wont to say of him, that 'his bodily presence was weak, and his speech contemptible';² in which respect he is styled by Chrysostom, ὁ τριπηνχυς ἀνθρωπος, a man three cubits [or a little more than four foot] high, and yet tall enough to reach heaven.³ He seems to have enjoyed no very firm and athletic constitution, being often subject to distempers. St. Jerome⁴ particularly reports, that he was frequently afflicted with the head-ach, and that this was thought by many to have been 'the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan sent to buffet him,' and that probably he intended some such thing by 'the temptation in his flesh,'⁵ which he elsewhere speaks of: which, however it may in general signify those afflictions that came upon him, yet does it primarily denote those diseases and infirmities that he was obnoxious to.

2. But how mean soever the cabinet was, there was a treasure within more precious and valuable, as will appear, if we survey the accomplishments of his mind. For as to his natural abilities and endowments, he seems to have had a clear and solid judgment, quick invention, a prompt and ready memory; all which were abundantly improved by art, and the advantages of a more liberal education. The schools of Tarsus had sharpened

¹ Philopatr. tom. ii. p. 999.

² 2 Cor. x. 10.

³ Serm. in Petr. et Paul. p. 265, tom. vi.

⁴ Com. in Gal. iv. p. 182, tom. ix.

⁵ Gal. iv. 14.

his discursive faculty by logic and the arts of reasoning, instructed him in the institutions of philosophy, and enriched him with the furniture of all kinds of human learning. This gave him great advantage above others, and ever raised him to a mighty reputation for parts and learning; insomuch that St. Chrysostom tells us of a dispute between a Christian and a heathen, wherein the Christian endeavoured to prove against the Gentile, that St. Paul was more learned and eloquent than Plato himself.¹ How well he was versed, not only in the law of Moses and the writings of the prophets, but even in classic and foreign writers, he has left us sure ground to conclude, from those excellent sayings which here and there he quotes out of heathen authors. Which, as at once it shows that it is not unlawful to bring the spoils of Egypt in the service of the sanctuary, and to make use of the advantages of foreign studies and human literature to divine and excellent purposes, so does it argue his being greatly conversant in the paths of human learning, which upon every occasion he could so readily command.² Indeed he seemed to have been furnished out on purpose to be the doctor of the Gentiles; to contend with, and confute the grave and the wise, the acute and the subtle, the sage and the learned of the heathen world, and to wound them (as Julian's word was) with arrows drawn out of their own quiver. Though we do not find, that in his disputes with the Gentiles he made much use

¹ In 1, ad Cor. c. 1, Hom. 3, p. 349.

² Ορᾶς δὲ πως κἀν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων προφῆταις δίδωσι τι τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐκ ἐπαισχύνεται πρός τε οἰκοδομὴν, καὶ πρὸς ἐντροπὴν διαλεγόμενός τινων, Ἐλληνικοῖς συγχρῆσθαι ποιήμασι — Cl. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 299.

of learning and philosophy ; it being more agreeable to the designs of the gospel, to confound the wisdom and learning of the world by the plain doctrine of the cross.

3. These were great accomplishments, and yet but a shadow to that divine temper of mind that was in him, which discovered itself through the whole course and method of his life. He was humble to the lowest step of abasur and condescension, none ever thinking better of others, or more meanly of himself. And though, when he had to deal with envious and malicious adversaries, who, by vilifying his person, sought to obstruct his ministry, he knew how to magnify his office, and to let them know, that he was ‘no whit inferior to the very chiefest apostles ;’ yet out of this case he constantly declared to all the world, that he looked upon himself as an abortive, and an untimely birth, as ‘the least of the apostles, not meet to be called an apostle ;’ and as if this were not enough, he makes a word on purpose to express his humility, styling himself *ελαχιστότερον*, ‘less than the least of all saints.’ yea, ‘the very chief of sinners.’ How freely, and that at every turn, does he confess what he was before his conversion—a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious both to God and men ? Though honoured with peculiar acts of the highest grace and favour, taken up to an immediate converse with God in heaven ; yet did not this inspire him with a supercilious loftiness over the rest of his brethren : entrusted he was with great power and authority in the church, but never affected dominion over men’s faith, nor any other place, than to be a helper of their joy ; nor ever made use of his power, but to the edification, not

destruction of any. How studiously did he decline all honours and commendations that were heaped upon him? When some in the church of Corinth cried him up beyond all measures, and under the patronage of his name began to set up for a party; he severely rebuked them, told them, that it was Christ, not he that was crucified for them; that they had ‘not been baptized into his name,’ which he was so far from, that he did not remember that he had baptized above three or four of them; and was heartily glad he had baptized no more, lest a foundation might have been laid for that suspicion; and that this Paul, indeed, whom they so much extolled, was no more than a minister of Christ, whom our Lord had appointed to plant and build up his church.

4. Great was his temperance and sobriety, so far from going beyond the bounds of regularity, that he abridged himself of the conveniences of lawful and necessary accommodations; frequent were his hungerings and thirstings, not constrained only, but voluntary: it is probably thought that he very rarely drank any wine; and certain is it, that by abstinence and mortification he ‘kept under and subdued his body,’ reducing the extravagancy of the sensual appetites to a perfect subjection to the laws of reason. By this means he easily got above the world, and its charms and frowns, and made his mind continually conversant in heaven; his thoughts were fixed there; his desires always ascending thither; what he taught others he practised himself; his ‘conversation was in heaven,’ and his ‘desires were to depart, and to be with Christ;’ this world did neither arrest his affections, nor disturb his fears; he was not taken with its applause, nor frightened with its threaten-

ings; he ‘studied not to please men, nor valued the censures and judgments which they passed upon him; he was not greedy of a great estate, or titles of honour, or rich presents from men, not ‘seeking theirs, but them;’ food and raiment was his bill of fare, and more than this he never cared for; accounting, that the less he was clogged with these things, the lighter he should march to heaven; especially travelling through a world overrun with troubles and persecutions. Upon this account it is probable he kept himself always within a single life, though there want not some of the ancients who expressly reckon him in the number of the married apostles, as Clemens Alexandrinus,¹ Ignatius,² and some others. It is true that passage is not to be found in the genuine epistle of Ignatius; but yet it is extant in all those that are owned and published by the church of Rome, though they have not been wanting to banish it out of the world, having expunged St. Paul’s name out of some ancient manuscripts, as the learned bishop Usher³ has to their shame sufficiently discovered to the world. But for the main of the question we can readily grant it; the Scripture seeming most to favour it, that though he asserted his power and liberty to marry as well as the rest, yet that he lived always a single life.

5. His kindness and charity was truly admirable; he had a compassionate tenderness for the poor, and a quick sense of the wants of others: to what

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. p. 448.

² Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. in Bibl. Pat. Gr. L. tom. i. p. 23. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 30.

Usser. Not. in Ignat. Epist. ad Philadelph. vid. James’s Corrupt. of the Fathers, part ii. p. 57.

church soever he came, it was one of his first cares to make provision for the poor, and to stir up the bounty of the rich and wealthy ; nay, himself worked often with his own hands, not only to maintain himself, but to help and relieve them. But infinitely greater was his charity to the souls of men, fearing no dangers, refusing no labours, going through good and evil report, that he might gain men over to the knowledge of the truth, reduce them out of the crooked paths of vice and idolatry, and set them in the right way to eternal life. Nay, so insatiable his thirst after the good of souls, that he affirms, that rather than his countrymen the Jews should miscarry, by not believing and entertaining the gospel, he could be content, nay wished, that ‘ himself might be accursed from Christ for their sake ;’ i. e. that he might be anathematized and cut off from the church of Christ, and not only lose the honour of the apostolate, but be reckoned in the number of the abject and execrable persons, such as those are who are separated from the communion of the church. An instance of so large and passionate a charity, that lest it might not find room in men’s belief, he ushered it in with this solemn appeal and attestation, that ‘ he said the truth in Christ, and lied not, his conscience bearing him witness in the Holy Ghost.’ And as he was infinitely solicitous to gain men over to the best religion in the world ; so was he not less careful to keep them from being seduced from it, ready to suspect every thing that might ‘ corrupt their minds from the simplicity that is in Christ.’ ‘ I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy,’¹ as he told the church of Corinth : an affection of all others the most

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 2.

active and vigilant, and which is wont to inspire men with the most passionate care and concernment for the good of those for whom we have the highest measures of love and kindness.¹ Nor was his charity to men greater than his zeal for God, endeavouring with all his might to promote the honour of his master. Indeed, zeal seems to have had a deep foundation in the natural forwardness of his temper. How exceedingly zealous was he, while in the Jews' religion, of the traditions of his fathers ; how earnest to vindicate and assert the divinity of the Mosaic dispensation, and to persecute all of a contrary way, even to rage and madness ; and when afterwards turned into a right channel, it ran with as swift a current; carrying him out, against all opposition, to ruin the kingdom and the powers of darkness, to beat down idolatry, and to plant the world with right apprehensions of God, and the true notions of religion. When, at Athens, he saw them so much overgrown with the grossest superstition and idolatry, giving the honour that was alone due to God to statues and images, his zeal began to ferment and to boil up into paroxysms of indignation ; and he could not but let them know the resentments of his mind, and how much herein they dishonoured God, the great parent and maker of the world.

6. This zeal must needs put him upon a mighty diligence and industry in the execution of his office, warning, reproofing, entreating, persuading, ‘preaching in season and out of season,’ by night and by day, by sea and land ; no pains too much to be taken, no dangers too great to be overcome. For

¹ Οὐκ εἰπεν, ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὁ πολλῷ τούτῳ σφοδρότερον, τίθησι τζηλότυποι γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ σφόδρα τῶν ἔρωμένων περικαίο μεναι· οὐ ἐκ ἀν ἀλλας τεχθεὶς τζηλοτυπία, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀπὸ σφοδρᾶς φιλίας.—Chrysost. Homil. 23, in 2 ad Corinth. p. 899

five-and-thirty years after his conversion, he seldom stayed long in one place; from Jerusalem, through Arabia, Asia, Greece, round about to Illyricum, to Rome, and even to the utmost bounds of the western world, ‘fully preaching the gospel of Christ:’ running (says St. Jerome) from ocean to ocean, like the sun in the heavens, of which it is said, ‘his going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it;’ sooner wanting ground to tread on, than a desire to propagate the faith of Christ. Nicephorus¹ compares him to a bird in the air, that in a few years flew round the world: Isidore the Pelusiot to a winged husbandman, that flew from place to place to cultivate the world with the most excellent rules and institutions of life.² And while the other apostles did as it were choose this or that particular province, as the main sphere of their ministry, St. Paul overran the whole world to its utmost bounds and corners, planting all places where he came with the divine doctrines of the gospel. Nor in this course was he tired out with the dangers and difficulties that he met with, the troubles and oppositions that were raised against him. All which did but reflect the greater lustre upon his patience; whereof, indeed (as Clement³ observes) he became μέγιστος ὑπογραμμὸς, a most eminent pattern and exemplar, during the biggest troubles and persecutions, with a patience trium-

¹ Lib. iii. c. i. p. 233.

² “Ἐκαστος μεν τῶν Ἀποσόλων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, μίαν ἀπόλαβὼν χώραν, ταύτην ἐρύθμισεν· ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ὥσπερ ὑπόπτερος γεωργὸς, πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐπέδραμε τὴν οἰκεμένην, καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς ἐφοίτησε τῆς γῆς τὰς ἴσχατίας, καὶ τὰς ἀνηκούτας ὄνθυμίζων, καὶ τοῖς ἀνηκόοις ἐνσπείρων τὸ θεῖον κήρυγμα.—Lib. iii. Epist. 176, ad Isid. Diac. p. 285.

³ Epist. ad Cor. p. 8.

phant and unconquerable. As will easily appear, if we take but a survey of what trials and sufferings he underwent, some part whereof are briefly summed up by himself. In labours abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons frequent, in deaths often; thrice beaten with rods, once stoned, thrice suffered shipwreck, a night and a day in the deep; in journeys often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness; and besides these things that were without, that which daily came upon him, the care of all the churches.¹ An account though very great, yet far short of what he endured; and wherein, as Chrysostom observes,² he does *σφόδρα μετριάζειν*, modestly keep himself within his measures; for had he taken the liberty fully to have enlarged himself, he might have filled hundreds of martyrologies with his sufferings. A thousand times was his life at stake; in every suffering he was a martyr, and what fell but in parcels upon others, came all upon him; while they skirmished only with single

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 23, et seq.

² Ἐκεῖνον αὐτῆς τῆς ζωῆς μνοιάκις καταφρονῶντα ἰδόντες· ὁ μάρτυς ἄπαξ ἀποθύήσει, ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἐκεῖνος ἐνι σώματι ἡ μιᾶ ψυχὴ τοσάντας κινδύνους ὑπέμεινε, ἡ ἀδημάντινον ἴκανὸς δορυβῆσαι ψυχὴν, ἡ ἅπερ ἅπαντες ἐν τοσέστοις σώμασιν οἱ ἄγιοι ἔπαθον, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐν ἐνὶ πάντα ἥνεγκε, καθάπερ εἰς σάδιον τὴν οἰκεμένην εἰσελθὼν, ἡ πάντα ἀποδυσάμενος, ἔτως ἵσαται γενναίως — ἡ τὸ δη θαυμασδν, ὅτι τοσαῦτα πάσχων, ἡ ποιῶν, σφόδρα μετριάζειν γένει. — ἡ τοίγε μυρίας βιβλίως ἐνέπλησεν ἀν εἰ τῶν εἰρημένων ἔκαστον ἐξαπλῶσαι ἡβέλετο, &c. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἥθελησε. — Chrys. Homil. 25, in 2 ad Cor. p. 921.

parties, he had the whole army of sufferings to contend with. All which he generously underwent with a soul as calm and serene as the morning-sun ; no spite or rage, no fury or storms could ruffle and discompose his spirit : nay, those sufferings, which would have broken the back of an ordinary patience, did but make him rise up with the greater eagerness and resolution for the doing of his duty.

7. His patience will yet further appear from the consideration of another, the last of those virtues we shall take notice of in him, his constancy and fidelity in the discharge of his place, and in the profession of religion. Could the powers and policies of men and devils, spite and oppositions, torments and threatenings have been able to baffle him out of that religion wherein he had engaged himself, he must have sunk under them, and left his station. But his soul was steeled with a courage and resolution that was impenetrable, and which no temptation either from hopes or fears could make any more impression upon, than an arrow can that is shot against a wall of marble. He wanted not solicitation on either hand, both from Jews and Gentiles ; and questionless might, in some degree, have made his own terms, would he have been false to his trust, and have quitted that way that was then every where spoken against. But, alas ! these things weighed little with our apostle, who ‘counted not his life to be dear unto him, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus.’ And therefore, when under the sentence of death in his own apprehensions, could triumphantly say, ‘I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith :’ and so indeed he

did, kept it inviolably, undauntedly to the last minute of his life. The sum is, he was a man, in whom the divine life did eminently manifest and display itself; he lived piously and devoutly, soberly and temperately, justly and righteously, careful ‘always to keep a conscience void of offence both towards God and man. This he tells us was his support under suffering, this the foundation of his confidence towards God, and his firm hopes of happiness in another world: ‘this is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity we have had our conversation in the world.’¹

8. It is not the least instance of his care and fidelity in his office, that he did not only preach and plant Christianity in all places whither he came, but what he could not personally do, he supplied by writing. Fourteen epistles he left upon record, by which he was not only instrumental in propagating Christian religion at first, but has been useful to the world ever since, in all ages of the church. We have all along, in the history of his life, taken particular notice of them in their due place and order: we shall here only make some general observations and remarks upon them, and that as to the style and way wherein they are written, their order, and the subscriptions that are added to them. For the apostle’s style and manner of writing, it is plain and simple; and though not set off with the elaborate artifices and affected additionals of human eloquence, yet grave and majestical, and that by the confession of his very enemies; ‘his letters, say they, are weighty and powerful.’²

¹ 2 Cor. i. 12.

² 2 Cor. x. 10.

Nor are there wanting in them some strains of rhetoric, which sufficiently testify his ability that way, had he made it any part of his study and design. Indeed, St. Jerome¹ is sometimes too rude and bold in his censures of St. Paul's style and character. He tells us, that being a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and admirably skilled in the language of his nation, he was greatly defective in the Greek tongue, (though a late great critic² is of another mind, affirming him to have been as well, or better skilled in Greek than in Hebrew, or in Syriac,) wherein he could not sufficiently express his conceptions in a way becoming the majesty of his sense and the matter he delivered, nor transmit the elegancy of his native tongue into another language; that hence he became obscure and intricate in his expressions, guilty many times of solecisms, and scarce tolerable syntax, and that therefore it was not his humility, but the truth of the thing that made him say, that 'he came not with the excellency of speech, but in the power of God.' A censure from any other than St. Jerome that would have been justly wondered at; but we know the liberty that he takes to censure any, though the reverence due to so great an apostle might, one would think, have challenged a more modest censure at his hands. However, elsewhere³ he cries him up as a great master of composition, that as oft as he heard him, he seemed to hear not words, but thunder; that in all his citations he made use of the most prudent artifices,

¹ Ad Algaf. Quæst. 11, p. 169, tom. ii. Quæst. 11. ad Heb. dib. p. 151, ibid. in Eph. iii. tom. ix. p. 216, com. in Gal. iii. p. 170, ibid.

² Salmas. de Hellenist. Part i. Quæst. 6.

³ Apol. adv. Jovin. tom. ii. p. 106.

using simple words, and which seemed to carry nothing but plainness along with them; but which way soever a man turned, breathed force and thunder; he seems entangled in his cause, but catches all that comes near him; turns his back, as if he intended to fly, when it is only that he may overcome.

9. St. Peter long since observed, that in Paul's epistles there were δυσνόητά τινα, 'some things hard to be understood,'¹ which surely is not altogether owing to the profoundness of his sense, and the mysteriousness of the subject that he treats of, but in some degree to his manner of expresion;² his frequent Hebraisms, (common to him with all the holy writers of the New Testament,) his peculiar forms and ways of speech, his often inserting Jewish opinions, and yet but tacitly touching them, his using some words in a new and uncommon sense, but above all, his frequent and abrupt transitions, suddenly starting aside from one thing to another, whereby his reader is left at a loss, not knowing which way to follow him, not a little contributing to the perplexed obscurity of his discourses. Irenæus³ took notice of old, that St. Paul makes frequent use of these hyperbata, by reason of the swiftness of his arguings, and the great fervour and impetus that was in him, leaving many times the designed frame and texture of his discourse, not bringing in what should have immediately connected the sense and order, till

¹ 2 Pet. iii. 16.

² This is not likely to have been the case: Peter, as a Hebrew, must have been too thoroughly imbued with the customs and phraseology of his nation to speak in this manner of mere idiomatic difficulties.—ED.

³ Adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. vii. p. 248.

some distance after; which, indeed, to men of a more nice and delicate temper, and who will not give themselves leave patiently to trace out his reasonings, must needs create some obscurity. Origen and St. Jerome sometimes observe, that besides this he uses many of his native phrases of the Cilician dialect, which being in a great measure foreign and exotic to the ordinary Greek, introduces a kind of strangeness into his discourse, and renders it less intelligible. Epiphanius tells us, that by these methods he acted like a skilful archer, hitting the mark before his adversaries were aware of it; by words misplaced making the frame of his discourse seem obscure and entangled, while in itself it was not only most true, but elaborate, and not difficult to be understood; that to careless and trifling readers it might sometimes seem dissonant and incoherent, but to them that are diligent, and will take their reason along with them, it would appear full of truth, and to be disposed with great care and order.

10. As for the order of these epistles, we have already given a particular account of the times when, and the places whence they were written. That which is here considerable, is the order according to which they are disposed in the sacred canon. Certain it is, that they are not placed according to the just order of time wherein they were written; the two epistles to the Thessalonians being on all hands agreed to have been first written, though set almost last in order. Most probable therefore it is, that they were placed according to the dignity of those to whom they were sent; the

¹ Hæres. 64, p. 239.

reason, why those to whole churches have the precedence of those to particular persons ; and among those to churches, that to the Romans had the first place and rank assigned to it, because of the majesty of the imperial city, and the eminency and honourable respect which that church derived thence ; and whether the same reason do not hold in others, though I will not positively assert, yet I think none will over-confidently deny. The last inquiry concerns the subscriptions added to the end of these epistles ; which, were they authentic, would determine some doubts concerning the time and place of their writing. But, alas, they are of no just value and authority, not the same in all copies, different in the Syriac and Arabic versions, nay, wholly wanting in some ancient Greek copies of the New Testament ; and were doubtless at first added at best upon probable conjectures. When at any time they truly represent the place whence, or the person by whom the epistle was sent, it is not that they are to be relied upon in it, but because the thing is either intimated or expressed in the body of the epistle I shall add no more but this observation, that St. Paul was wont to subscribe every epistle with his own hand, ‘which is my token in every epistle ; so I write.’¹ Which was done (says one of the ancients²) to prevent impostures, that his epistles might not be interpolated and corrupted, and that if any vented epistles under his name, the cheat might be discovered by the apostle’s own hand not being to them ; and this brings me to the last consideration, that shall conclude this chapter.

¹ 2 Thess. iii. 17.

² Ambr. in loc. tom. v. p. 397.

11. That there were some, even in the most early ages of Christianity, who took upon them (for what ends I stand not now to inquire) to write books, and publish them under the name of some apostle, is notoriously known to all who are the least conversant in church antiquities. Herein St. Paul had his part and share, several supposititious writings being fathered and thrust upon him. We find a gospel ascribed by some of the ancients to him, which surely arose from no other cause, than that in some of his epistles he makes mention of ‘my gospel.’ Which, as St. Jerome observes,¹ can be meant of no other than the gospel of St. Luke, his constant attendant, and from whom he chiefly derived his intelligence. If he wrote another epistle to the Corinthians, precedent to those two extant at this day, as he seems to imply in a passage in his first epistle, ‘I have wrote unto you in an epistle, not to keep company,’² &c., a passage not conveniently applicable to any part either in that or the other epistle; nay, a verse or two after, the first epistle is directly opposed to it; all that can be said in the case is,³ that it long since perished, the Divine Providence not seeing it necessary to be preserved for the service of the church. Frequent mention there is also of an epistle of his to the Laodiceans, grounded upon a mistaken passage in the epistle to the Colossians;⁴ but besides that the apostle does not there speak of an epistle written to the Laodiceans, but of one from them, Tertullian⁵ tells us, that by the epistle to the Laodiceans is meant that to the Ephesians, and that

¹ De Script. Eccl. in Luc.

² 1 Cor. v. 9.

³ Ver. 11.

⁴ Col. iv. 16.

⁵ Adv. Marc. lib. v. c. 11, p. 476; ib. c. 17, p. 481.

Marcion, the heretic, was the first that changed the title; and therefore, in his enumeration of St. Paul's epistles he omits that to the Ephesians, for no other reason, doubtless, but that according to Marcion's opinion, he had reckoned it up under the title of that to the Laodiceans. Which yet is more clear, if we consider that Epiphanius,¹ citing a place quoted by Marcion out of the epistle to the Laodiceans, it is in the very same words found in that to the Ephesians at this day. However, such an epistle is still extant, forged, no doubt, before St. Jerome's time, who tells us, that it was read by some, but yet exploded and rejected by all.² Besides these there was his Revelation,³ called also 'Αναζητικὸν, or his Ascension, grounded on his ecstasy or rapture into heaven, first forged by the Cainian heretics, and in great use and estimation among the Gnostics. Sozomen tells us,⁴ that this apocalypse was owned by none of the ancients, though much commended by some monks in his time: and he further adds, that in the time of the emperor Theodosius, it was said to have been found in an underground chest of marble in St. Paul's house at Tarsus, and that by a particular revelation. A story which, upon inquiry, he found to be as false as the book itself was evidently forged and spurious. The Acts of St. Paul are mentioned both by Origen⁵ and Eusebius,⁶ but not as writings of approved and unquestionable credit and authority. The epistles

¹ Hæres. 42, adv. Marcion. p. 142.

² De Script. Eccl. in Paulo.

³ Epiph. Hæres. 38, p. 124, August. in Joan. Tract. 98, col. 488.

⁴ H. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 19, p. 735.

⁵ Orig. περὶ Ἀρχ. lib. i. c. 2, fol. 114, p. 2.

⁶ Euseb. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 72.

that are said to have passed between St. Paul and Seneca, how early soever they started in the church, yet the falsehood and fabulousness of them is now too notoriously known to need any further account or description of them.

SECTION IX.

The principal Controversies that exercised the Church in his time.

THOUGH our Lord and his apostles delivered the Christian religion, especially as to the main and essential parts of it, in as plain a manner as words could express it, yet were there men of perverse and ‘corrupt minds, and reprobate concerning the faith,’ who from different causes, some ignorantly or wilfully mistaking the doctrines of Christianity, others to serve ill purposes and designs, began to introduce errors and unsound opinions into the church, and to debauch the minds of men from the simplicity of the gospel; hereby disquieting the thoughts, and alienating the affections of men, and disturbing the peace and order of the church. The first ringleader of this heretical crew was Simon Magus, who not being able to attain his ends of the apostles, by getting a power to confer miraculous gifts, whereby he designed to greateren and enrich himself, resolved to be revenged of them, scattering the most poisonous tares among the good wheat that they had sown, bringing in the most

pernicious principles; and as the natural consequent of that, patronizing the most debauched villainous practices; and this under a pretence of still being Christians. To enumerate the several dogmata and damnable heresies, first broached by Simon, and then vented and propagated by his disciples and followers, who, though passing under different titles, yet all centered at last in the name of Gnostics, a term which we shall sometimes use for conveniency, (though it took not place till after St. Paul's time,) were as needless as it is alien to my purpose. I shall only take notice of a few of more signal remark, and such as St. Paul in his epistles does eminently reflect upon.

2. Amongst the opinions and principles of Simon and his followers, this was one,¹ that God did not create the world, but that it was made by angels. That divine honours were due to them, and that they were to be adored as subordinate mediators between God and us. This our apostle saw growing up apace, and struck betimes at the root, in that early caution he gave to the Colossians, to 'let no man beguile them in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind ; and not holding the head,'² i. e. thereby disclaiming Christ, the head of the church. But, notwithstanding this warning, this error still continued and spread itself in those parts for several ages, till expressly condemned by the Laodicean council.³ Nay, Theodoret tells us,⁴ there were still oratories

¹ Iren. lib. i. c. 20. Epiph. Hær. 21, Tert. de Præsc. Hær. c. 33, p. 214 &c. 46, p. 219, Aug. de Hæres. Hær. 39.

² Col. ii. 18

³ Can. 35

Theod. comment. in Col. 2.

erected to the archangel Michael in those places, wherein they were wont to meet and pray to angels. Another Gnostic principle was, that men might freely and indifferently eat what had been offered in sacrifice to idols; yea, sacrifice to the idol itself, it being lawful confidently to abjure the faith in time of persecution.¹ The first part whereof St. Paul does largely and frequently discuss up and down his epistles; the latter, wherein the sting and poison was more immediately couched, was craftily adapted to those times of suffering, and greedily swallowed by many, hereby drawn into apostacy. Against this our apostle antidotes the Christians, especially the Jewish converts, among whom the Gnostics had mixed themselves, that they would not suffer themselves to be drawn aside by ‘an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God’:² that notwithstanding sufferings and persecutions, they would ‘hold fast the profession of the faith without wavering, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is,’ (the Gnostic heretics;) remembering how severely God has threatened apostates, that ‘if any man draw back, his soul shall have no pleasure in him,’ and ‘what a fearful thing it is thus to fall into the hands of the living God.’³

3. But besides this, Simon and his followers made the gate yet wider, maintaining a universal licence to sin; that men were free to do whatever they had a mind to; that to press the observance of good works was a bondage inconsistent with the liberty of the gospel; that so men did but believe

¹ Orig. adv. Cels. lib. vi. p. 282, Useb. lib. iv. c. 7, p. 120.

² Heb. iii. 12.

³ Heb. x. 23, 25, 31, 38.

in him and his dear Helen,¹ they had no reason to regard law or prophets, but might do what they pleased, they should be saved by his grace, and not according to good works.² Irenæus adds, (what a man might easily have inferred, had he never been told it,) that they lived in all lust and filthiness: as indeed whoever will take the pains to peruse the account that is given of them, will find that they wallowed in the most horrible and unheard-of bestialities. These persons St. Paul does as particularly describe, as if he had named them, having once and again with tears warned the Philippians of them, that ‘they were enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.’³ And elsewhere to the same effect, that they would ‘mark them that caused divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had learned, and avoid them; for they that were such, served not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, by good words and fair speeches deceiving the hearts of the simple.’⁴ This I doubt not he had in his eye, when he gave those caveats to the Ephesians, that ‘fornication, and all uncleanness, and inordinate desires, should not be once named amongst them, as became saints, nor filthiness nor unclean talking;’ being assured by the Christian doctrine, that ‘no whoremonger, nor unclean person,’ &c. could be saved; that therefore, ‘they should let no man deceive them with vain words; these being the very things for which the

¹ His mistress, in whom he said dwelt the original seed of all human souls.—ED.

² Iren. adv. Hær. lib. i. c. 20, p. 116.

³ Phil. iii. 17, 18.

⁴ Rom. xvi. 17, 18.

wrath of God came upon the children of disobedience ; and accordingly it concerned them, ‘not to be partakers with them.’¹ Plainly intimating, that this impure Gnostic crew (whose doctrines and practices he does here no less truly than lively represent) had begun by crafty and insinuative arts to screw itself into the church of Ephesus, cheating the people with subtle and flattering insinuations, probably persuading them that these things were but indifferent, and a part of that Christian liberty, wherein the gospel had instated them. By these and such like principles and practices (many whereof might be reckoned up) they corrupted the faith of Christians, distracted the peace of the church, stained and defiled the honour and purity of the best religion in the world.

4. But the greatest and most famous controversy that of all others in those times exercised the Christian church, was concerning the obligation that Christians were under to observe the law of Moses, as necessary to their justification and salvation. Which because a matter of so much importance, and which takes up so great a part of St. Paul’s epistles, and the clearing whereof will reflect a great light upon them, we shall consider more at large : in order whereunto three things especially are to be inquired after, that is, the true state of the controversy, what the apostles determined in this matter, and what respect the most material passages in St. Paul’s epistles, about justification and salvation, bear to this controversy. First, we shall inquire into the true state and nature of the controversy ; and for this we are to know, that when Christianity was published to the world, it mainly

¹ Eph. v. 3, 4, &c.

prevailed among the Jews, they being generally the first converts to the faith. But having been brought up in a mighty reverence and veneration for the Mosaic institutions, and looking upon that economy as immediately contrived by God himself, delivered by angels, settled by their great master, Moses, received with the most solemn and sensible appearances of divine power and majesty, ratified by miracles, and entertained by all their forefathers as the peculiar prerogative of that nation, for so many ages and generations, they could not easily be brought off from it, or behold the gospel but with an evil eye, as an enemy that came to supplant and undermine this ancient and excellent institution. Nay, those of them that were prevailed upon by the convictive power and evidence of the gospel, to embrace the Christian religion, yet could not get over the prejudice of education, but must still continue their observance of those legal rites and customs wherein they had been brought up. And, not content with this, they began magisterially to impose them upon others, even all the Gentile converts, as that without which they could never be accepted by God in this, or rewarded by him in another world. This controversy was first started at Antioch, a place not more remarkable for its own greatness than the vast numbers of Jews that dwelt there, enjoying great immunities granted them by the king of Syria.¹ For after that Antiochus Epiphanes had destroyed Jerusalem, and laid waste the temple, the Jews generally flocked hither, where they were courteously entertained by his successors, the spoils of the temple restored to them

¹ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 21, p. 973.

for the enriching and adorning of their synagogue, and they made, equally with the Greeks, freemen of that city; by which means their numbers increased daily, partly by the resort of others from Judæa, partly by a numerous conversion of proselytes, whom they gained over to their religion. Accordingly Christianity, at its first setting out, found a very successful entertainment in this place. And hither it was that some of the Jewish converts, being come down from Jerusalem, taught the Christians, that unless they observed circumcision, and the whole law of Moses, they could not be saved.¹ Paul and Barnabas, then at Antioch, observing the ill influence that this had upon the minds of men, (disturbing many at present, and causing the apostacy of some afterwards,) began vigorously to oppose this growing error; but not able to conjure down this spirit that had been raised up, they were dispatched by the church at Antioch to consult the apostles and governors at Jerusalem about this matter: whither being come, they found the quarrel espoused, among others, by some converts of the sect of the Pharisees, (of all others the most zealous assertors of the Mosaic rites,) stiffly maintaining that besides the gospel, or the Christian religion, it was necessary for all converts, whether Jews or Gentiles, to keep to circumcision and the law of Moses. So that the state of the controversy between the orthodox and these Judaizing Christians was plainly this:—Whether circumcision and the observation of the Mosaic law, or only the belief and practice of Christianity, be necessary to salvation? The latter part of the

¹ Acts, xv. 1.

question was maintained by the apostles; the former asserted by the Judaizing zealots, making the law of Moses equally necessary with the law of Christ; and no doubt pretending that whatever these men might preach at Antioch, yet the apostles were of another mind; whose sentence and resolution it was therefore thought necessary should be immediately known.

5. We are then next to consider what determination the apostolic synod at Jerusalem made of this matter; for a council of the apostles and rulers being immediately convened, and the question, by Paul and Barnabas, brought before them, the case was canvassed and debated on all hands; and at last it was resolved upon by their unanimous sentence and suffrage, that the Gentile converts were under no obligation to the Jewish law; that God had abundantly declared his acceptance of them, though strangers to the Mosaical economy; that they were sufficiently secured of their happiness and salvation by the grace of the gospel, wherein they might be justified and saved without circumcision or legal ceremonies, a yoke from which Christ had now set us free. But because the apostles did not think it prudent in these circumstances, too much to stir the exasperated humour of the Jews, (lest by straining the string too high at first they should endanger their revolting from the faith,) therefore they thought of some indulgence in the case; St. James, then bishop of Jerusalem, and probably president of the council, propounding this expedient, that for the present the Gentile converts should so far only comply with the humour of the Jews, as to 'abstain from meats offered to idols, from blood, from things

strangled, and from fornication.' Let us a little more distinctly survey the ingredients of this imposition. 'Meats offered to idols,' or as St. James in his discourse styles them ἀλισγήματα τῶν εἰδωλων, 'the pollution of idols,' the word ἀλισγήματα, properly denoting the meats that were polluted by being consecrated to the idol. Thus we read of לְנָא מַזְבֵּחַ, ἄρτος ἡλισγημένος, (as the Seventy render it,) 'polluted bread upon God's altar,' i. e. such probably as had been before offered to idols. So that these meats offered to the idols were parts of those sacrifices which the heathens offered to their gods, of the remaining portions whereof they usually made a feast in the idol-temple, inviting their friends thither, and sometimes their Christian friends to come along with them. This God had particularly forbidden the Jews by the law of Moses: 'Thou shalt worship no other God; lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice.'¹ And the not observing of this prohibition cost the Jews dear, when invited by the Moabites to the sacrifices of their gods, 'they did eat with them, and bowed down to their gods.'² Sometimes these remaining portions were sold for common use in the shambles, and bought by Christians; both which gave great offence to the zealous Jews, who looked upon it as a participation in the idolatries of the heathen: of both which our apostle discourses elsewhere at large, pressing Christians to 'abstain from idolatry,' both as to the idol-feasts, and the remainders of the

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 14, 15.

² Numb. xxiv. 2, 4.

sacrifice : from the former, as more immediately unlawful ; from the latter, the sacrificial meats sold in the shambles, as giving offence to weak and un-discriminating Christians. For though in itself ‘an idol was nothing in the world,’ and consequently no honour could be done it by eating what was offered to it ; yet was it more prudent and reasonable to abstain, partly because flesh-meats have no peculiar excellency in them to commend us to God ; partly because all men not being alike instructed in the knowledge of their liberty, their minds might be easily puzzled, their consciences entangled, the Gentiles by this means hardened in their idolatrous practices, and weak brethren offended ; besides, though these things were in their own nature indifferent, and in a man’s own power to do or to let alone, yet was it not convenient to make our liberty a snare to others, and to venture upon what was lawful, when it was plainly unedifying and inexpedient. ‘From blood :’ this God forbade of old, and that some time before the giving of the law by Moses, that ‘they should not eat the flesh with the blood, which was the life thereof.’¹ The mystery of which prohibition was to instruct men in the duties of mercy and tenderness even to brute beasts ; but (as appears from what follows after) primarily designed by God as a solemn fence and bar against murder, and the effusion of human blood : a law afterwards renewed upon the Jews, and inserted into the body of the Mosaic precepts. ‘From things strangled ;’ that is, that they should abstain from eating of those beasts that died without letting blood, where the blood was not

¹ Gen. ix. 4.

thoroughly drained from them; a prohibition grounded upon the reason of the former, and respecting a thing greatly abominable to the Jews, being so expressly forbidden in their law.¹ But it was not more offensive to the Jews than acceptable to the Gentiles, who were wont, with great art and care, to strangle living creatures, that they might stew or dress them with their blood in them, as a point of curious and exquisite delicacy.² This and the foregoing prohibition, abstinence from blood, died not with the apostles, nor were buried with other Jewish rites, but were inviolably observed for several ages in the Christian church, as we have elsewhere observed from the writers of those times.³ Lastly, ‘From fornication:’ this was a thing commonly practised in the heathen world, which generally beheld simple fornication as no sin, and that it was lawful for persons, not engaged in wedlock, to make use of women that exposed themselves;⁴ a custom justly offensive to the Jews, and therefore to cure two evils at once, the apostles here solemnly declare against it. Not that they thought it a thing indifferent, as the rest of the prohibited rites were; for it is forbidden

¹ Lev. xvii. 10, 11, 12, &c.

² Athen. Deipnos. lib. ii. c. xxiv. p. 65, *ubi vid.* Casaub. in loc.

³ Prim. Christ. Part iii. c. 1, p. 230.

⁴ Vid. Cicer. pro Cœlio Orat. 34, p. 503, tom. ii. Terent. Adelph. Act. i. Sc. 2, p. 166.

Σὺ δ' εἰς ἄπαντας εὐρεις ἀνθρώπως, Σόλων.
 Σὲ γᾶρ λέγεσιν τῇτ' ἵδεῖν πρῶτον,
 Δημοτικὸν ὥ Ζεῦ πρᾶγμα κὲ σωτήριον,
 Καὶ μοι λέγειν τέτ' ἔσιν ἀρμοσδύν, Σόλων,
 Μεσην δρῶντι τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων,
 Τέττες τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαῖαν φύσιν

by the natural law, (as contrary to that chasteness and modesty, that order and comeliness which God has planted in the minds of men,) but they joined it in the same class with them, because the Gentiles looked upon it as a thing lawful and indifferent. It had been expressly forbidden by the Mosaic law: ‘There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel;’¹ and because the heathens had generally thrown down this fence and bar set by the law of nature, it was here again repaired by the first planters of Christianity, as by St. Paul elsewhere: ‘Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus; for this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication; that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles, which knew not God.’² Though, after all, I must confess myself inclinable to embrace Heinsius’s ingenious conjecture, that by *πορνεία*, fornication, we are here to understand *πόρνης μίσθωμα*, ‘the harlots’ hire, or the *πορνικὴ θυσία*, the offerings which those persons were wont to make. For among the Gentiles nothing was more usual, than for the common women that prostituted themselves to lewd embraces (those especially that attended at the temples of Venus) to

Αμαρτάνοντας τ' εἰς ὁ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
Στῆσαι πριάμενόν τι γυναικας κατὰ τόπους
Κοινὰς ἅπασι κατεσκενασμένας.
Ἐστᾶσι γυμναῖ, &c.

Philem. Comic. in Delph. ap. Athen. lib. xiii.
c. 3, p. 569. Vid. Leg. Attic. lib. vi. Tit.
5, p. 41, et Petit. Comment. p. 474.

¹ Deut. xxiii. 17.

² 1 Thess. iv. 2, 3, 4, 5.

dedicate some part of their gain, and present it to the gods. Athanasius has a passage very express to this purpose. Γυναικες γεν εν ειδωλειοις της Φοινίκης πάλαι προσκαθέζοντο, ἀπαρχόμεναι τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς ἔαντων τὴν τοῦ σώματος μισθαρίαν, νομίζεσαι τῇ πορνείᾳ τὴν θεὸν ἔαντῶν ἰλάσκεσθαι, καὶ εἰς ἐνμένειαν ἄγειν ἀντὴν διὰ τούτων. “The women of old were wont to sit in the idol temples of Phoenicia, and to dedicate the gain which they got by the prostitution of their bodies as a kind of first-fruits to the deities of the place; supposing that by fornication they should pacify their goddess, and by this means render her favourable and propitious to them.”¹ Where it is plain he uses *πορνεία*, or fornication, in this very sense, for that gain or reward of it which they consecrated to their gods. Some such thing Solomon had in his eye, when he brings in the harlot thus courting the young man: ‘I have peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my vows.’² These presents were either made in specie, the very money thus unrighteously gotten, or in sacrifices bought with it, and offered at the temple, the remainders whereof were taken and sold among the ordinary sacrificial portions. This as it holds the nearest correspondence with the rest of the rites here forbidden, so could it not choose but be a mighty scandal to the Jews, it being so particularly prohibited in their law, ‘Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore into the house of the Lord thy God for any vow, for it is an abomination to the Lord.’³

6. These prohibitions here laid upon the Gentiles,

¹ Orat. adv. Gent. p. 27, tom. i.

² Prov. vii. 14.

³ Deut. xxiii. 18

were by the apostles intended only for a temporary compliance with the Jewish converts, till they could, by degrees, be brought off from their stiffness and obstinacy ; and then the reason of the thing ceasing, the obligation to it must needs cease and fail. Nay, we may observe that even while the apostolical decree lasted in its greatest force and power, in those places where there were few or no Jewish converts, the apostles did not stick to give leave, that except in case of scandal, any kind of meats, even the portions of the idol-sacrifices might be indifferently bought and taken by Christians as well as heathens. These were all which in order to the satisfaction of the Jews, and for the present peace of the church, the apostles thought necessary to require of the converted Gentiles; but that for all the rest they were perfectly free from legal observances, obliged only to the commands of Christianity. So that the apostolical decision that was made of this matter was this :—“ That (besides the temporary observation of those few indifferent rites before mentioned) the belief and practice of the Christian religion was perfectly sufficient to salvation, without circumcision and the observation of the Mosaic law.” This synodical determination allayed the controversy for a while, being joyfully received by the Gentile-Christians. But, alas, the Jewish zeal began again to ferment and spread itself; they could not with any patience endure to see their beloved Moses deserted, and those venerable institutions trodden down, and therefore laboured to keep up their credit, and still to assert them as necessary to salvation. Than which nothing created St. Paul greater trouble at every turn, as he was thereby forced to contend against these Judaizing teachers almost in

every church where he came; as appears by that great part that they bear in all his epistles, especially that to the Romans and Galatians, where this leaven had most diffused itself, whom the better to undeceive, he discourses at large of the nature and institution, the end and design, the antiquating and abolishing of that Mosaic covenant, which these men laid so much stress and weight upon.

7. Hence then we pass to the third thing considerable for the clearing of this matter, which is to show, that the main passages in St. Paul's epistles, concerning justification and salvation, have an immediate reference to this controversy. But before we enter upon that, something must necessarily be premised for the explicating some terms and phrases frequently used by our apostle in this question; these two especially—what he means by law, and what by faith. By law, then, it is plain he usually understands the Jewish law, which was a complex body of laws, containing moral, ceremonial, and judicial precepts, each of which had its use and office as a great instrument of duty; the judicial laws being peculiar statutes accommodated to the state of the Jews' commonwealth, as all civil constitutions, restrained men from the external acts of sin; the ceremonial laws came somewhat nearer, and besides their typical relation to the evangelical state, by external and symbolical representments, signified and exhibited that spiritual impurity, from which men were to abstain: the moral laws, founded in the natural notions of men's minds concerning good and evil, directly urged men to duty and prohibited their prevarications. These three made up the entire code and pandects of the Jewish statutes; all which our apostle comprehends under

the general notion of ‘the law,’ and not the moral law singly and separately considered, in which sense it never appears that the Jews expected justification and salvation by it; nay, rather that they looked for it merely from the observance of the ritual and ceremonial law; so that the moral law is no further considered by him in this question, than as it made up a part of the Mosaical constitution, of that national and political covenant which God made with the Jews at mount Sinai. Hence, the apostle all along in his discourses constantly opposes the law and the gospel, and the observation of the one to the belief and practice of the other; which surely he would not have done, had he simply intended the moral law, it being more expressly incorporated into the gospel than ever it was into the law of Moses. And that the apostle does thus oppose the law and gospel, might be made evident from the continued series of his discourses; but a few places shall suffice. ‘By what law (says the apostle) is boasting excluded? by the law of works?’¹ i. e. by the Mosaic law, in whose peculiar privileges and prerogatives the Jews did strangely flatter and pride themselves? ‘Nay, but by the law of faith,’² i. e. by the gospel, or the evangelical way of God’s dealing with us. And elsewhere giving an account of this very controversy between the Jewish and Gentile converts, he first opposes their persons, ‘Jews by nature,’ and ‘sinners of the Gentiles;’ and then infers, ‘that a man is not justified by the works of the law,’ by those legal observances whereby the Jews expected to be justified, ‘but by the faith of Christ,’ by a hearty belief of, and compliance with that way which Christ

¹ Rom. iii. 27.

² Gal. ii. 15, 16. -

has introduced; for ‘by the works of the law,’ by legal obedience, ‘no flesh,’ neither Jew nor Gentile, ‘shall’ now ‘be justified.’ ‘Fain would I learn, whether you received the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?’¹ That is, whether you became partakers of the miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost, while you continued under the legal dispensation, or since you embraced the gospel, and the faith of Christ; and speaking afterwards of the state of the Jews before the revelation of the gospel, says he, ‘before faith came, we were kept under the law;’² i. e. before the gospel came, we were kept under the discipline of the legal economy, ‘shut up unto the faith,’ reserved for the discovery of the evangelical dispensation, ‘which should afterwards’ (in its due time) ‘be revealed’ to the world. This in the following chapter he discourses more at large. ‘Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law;’³ i. e. Ye Jews that so fondly dote upon the legal state, ‘do ye not hear the law?’ i. e. understand what your own law does so clearly intimate? and he then goes on to unriddle what was wrapped up in the famous allegory of Abraham’s two sons by his two wives; the one Ishmael, born of Hagar, the bond-woman, who denoted the Jewish covenant made at mount Sinai, which according to the representation of her condition was a servile state; the other. Isaac, born of Sarah, the free-woman, was the son of the promise, denoting ‘Jerusalem that is above, and is free, the mother of us all;’ i. e. the state and covenant of the gospel, whereby all Christians, as the spiritual children of Abraham, are set free from the bondage of the Mosaic

¹ Gal. iii. 2—5.

² Ver. 23.

³ Gal. iv. 21, et seq.

dispensation. By all which it is evident, that by law and the works of the law, in this controversy, the apostle understands the law of Moses, and that obedience which the legal dispensation required at their hands.

8. We are secondly to inquire, what the apostle means by faith; and he commonly uses it two ways. 1. More generally for the gospel, or that evangelical way of justification and salvation which Christ has brought in, in opposition to circumcision, and the observation of those rites by which the Jews expected to be justified; and this is plain from the preceding opposition, where faith, as denoting the gospel, is frequently opposed to the law of Moses. 2. Faith is taken more particularly for a practical belief, or such an assent to the evangelical revelation as produces a sincere obedience to the laws of it; and indeed, as concerned in this matter, is usually taken, not for this or that single virtue, but for the entire condition of the new covenant, as comprehending all that duty that it requires of us; than which nothing can be more plain and evident: ‘in Christ Jesus,’ i. e. under the gospel, ‘neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision,’ it is all one to justification, whether a man be circumcised or no; what then? ‘but faith, which worketh by love;’¹ which afterwards he explains thus, ‘in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature;’² a renewed and divine temper of mind, and a new course and state of life. And lest all this should not be thought plain enough, he elsewhere tells us, that ‘circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision

¹ Gal. v. 6.

² Gal. vi. 15.

is nothing ; but the keeping the commandments of God.'¹ From which places there needs no skill to infer, that that faith whereby we are justified, contains in it a new disposition and state both of heart and life, and an observation of the laws of Christ; in which respect the apostle does, in the very same verse, expound 'believing,' by 'obeying of the gospel.'² Such, he assures us, was that very faith by which Abraham was justified, who, against all probabilities of reason, believed in God's promise; 'he staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong,' &c. that is, he so firmly believed what God had promised, that he gave him the glory of his truth and faithfulness, his infinite power and ability to do all things. And how did he that? By acting suitably in a way of entire resignation, and sincere obedience to the divine will and pleasure; so the apostle elsewhere more expressly, 'by faith he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went.'³ This faith (he tells us) 'was imputed to Abraham for righteousness,'⁴ that is, God, by virtue of the new covenant made in Christ, was graciously pleased to look upon this obedience (though in itself imperfect) as that for which he accounted him, and would deal with him as a just and a righteous man. And upon this account we find Abraham's faith opposed to a perfect and unsinning obedience; for thus the apostle tells us, that 'Abraham was justified by faith,'⁵ in opposition to his being justified by such an absolute and complete obedience, as might have enabled him to challenge the reward by the strict laws

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 19. ² Rom. x. 16. ³ Heb. xi. 8

⁴ Rom. iv. 22. ⁵ Rom. iv. 2, 3, &c.

of justice; whereas now his being pardoned and accepted by God in the way of a mean and imperfect obedience, it could not claim impunity, much less a reward, but must be entirely owing to the divine grace and favour.

9. Having thus cleared our way, by restoring these words to their genuine and native sense, we come to show, how the apostle in his discourses does all along refer to the original controversy between the Jewish and Gentile converts, whether justification was by the observation of the Mosaic law, or by the belief and practice of the gospel: and this will appear, if we consider the persons that he has to deal with, the way and manner of his arguing, and that there was then no other controversy on foot, to which these passages could refer. The persons whom he had to deal with, were chiefly of two sorts, pure Jews, and Jewish converts. Pure Jews were those that kept themselves wholly to the legal economy, and expected to be justified and saved in no other way than the observation of the law of Moses. Indeed they laid a more peculiar stress upon circumcision, because this having been added as the seal of that covenant which God made with Abraham, and the discriminating badge whereby they were to be distinguished from all other nations, they looked upon it as having a special efficacy in it to recommend them to the divine acceptance. Accordingly we find in their writings that they make this the main basis and foundation of their hope and confidence towards God. For they tell us, that the precept of circumcision is greater than all the rest, and equivalent to the whole law; that the reason why God hears the prayers of the Israelites, but not הנוי of the Gentiles or Christians, is

המִילָה בְּזָכוֹת for the virtue and merit of circumcision ; yea, that “ so great is the power and efficacy of the law of circumcision, that no man that is circumcised shall go to hell.”¹ Nay, according to the idle and trifling humour of these men, they fetch down Abraham from the seat of the blessed, and place as porter at the gates of hell, upon no other errand than to keep circumcised persons from entering into that miserable place.² However, nothing is more evident, than that circumcision was the fort and sanctuary wherein they ordinarily placed their security ; and accordingly, we find St. Paul frequently disputing against circumcision, as virtually comprising, in their notion, the keeping of the whole Jewish law. Besides, to these literal impositions of the law of Moses, the Pharisees had added many vain traditions and several superstitious usages of their own contrivance ; in the observance whereof the people placed not a little confidence, as to that righteousness upon which they hoped to stand clear with heaven. Against all these our apostle argues, and sometimes by arguments peculiar to them alone. Jewish converts were those, who having embraced the Christian religion, did yet, out of a veneration to their ancient rites, make the observance of them equally necessary with the belief and practice of Christianity both to themselves and others. These last were the persons, who as they first started the controversy, so were they those against whom the apostle mainly opposed himself, endeavouring to dismount their

1. זֶדַל כָּחַ מֵצָוֶת מִילָה שֶׁכֶל מִ שָׁהָא מַהֲול אִינָה
ורֵד לְגַהֲנָם.

Cod. Hakkem. ap. Buxtorf. F. præf. ad Syn. ud.

² Synag. Jud. c. 4, p. 87.

pretences, and to beat down their opinions level with the ground.

10. This will yet further appear from the way and manner of the apostle's arguing, which plainly respects this controversy, and will be best seen in some particular instances of his reasonings. And first, he argues, that this way of justification urged by Jews and Jewish converts was inconsistent with the goodness of God, and his universal kindness to mankind; being so narrow and limited, that it excluded the far greatest part of the world. Thus, in the first three chapters of his epistle to the Romans, having proved at large that 'the whole world,' both Jew and Gentile, 'were under a state of guilt,' and consequently liable to the divine sentence and condemnation; he comes next to inquire by what means they may be delivered from this state of vengeance, and shows that it could not be by legal observances; but that now there was a way of righteousness or justification declared by Christ¹ in the gospel, (intimated also in the Old Testament,) extending to all, both Jews and Gentiles; whereby God, with respect to the satisfaction and expiation of Christ, is ready freely to pardon and justify all penitent believers; that therefore there was a way revealed in the gospel, whereby a man might be justified, without being beholden to the rites of the Jewish law, otherwise it would argue that God had very little care of the greatest part of men. 'Is he God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also seeing it is one God, which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through

¹ Rom. iii. 20, 21, &c.

faith, Jew and Gentile' in the same evangelical way. The force of which argument lies in this, that that cannot be necessary to our justification, which excludes the greatest part of mankind from all possibility of being justified ; (and this justification by the Mosaic law plainly does;) a thing by no means consistent with God's universal love and kindness to his creatures. Hence, the apostle magnifies the grace of the gospel, that it has broken down the partition wall, and made way for all nations to come in ; that 'now there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian ;' no difference in this respect, but 'all one in Christ Jesus ;'² all equally admitted to terms of pardon and justification, 'in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness being accepted with him.'³

11. Secondly; he argues, that this Jewish way of justification could not be indispensably necessary, in that it had not been the constant way whereby good men in all ages had been justified and accepted with heaven. This he eminently proves from the instance of Abraham, whom the Scripture sets forth as 'the father of the faithful,' and the great exemplar of that way wherein all his spiritual seed, all true believers were to be justified. Now, of him it is evident, that he was justified and accepted with God, upon his practical belief of God's power and promise, before ever circumcision, and much more before the rest of the Mosaic institution was in being. 'Cometh this blessedness then upon the circumcision only, or

Gal. iii. 28.

² Col. iii. 11.

³ Acts, x. 35.

upon the uncircumcision also? For we say that faith was reckoned unto Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned, when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith, which he had being yet uncircumcised,¹ &c. The meaning whereof is plainly this, that pardon of sin cannot be entailed upon the way of the Mosaic law, it being evident that Abraham was justified and approved of God before he was circumcised, which was only added as a seal of the covenant between God and him, and a testimony of that acceptance with God which he had obtained before. And this way of God's dealing with Abraham, and in him with all his spiritual children, the legal institution could not make void, it being impossible that dispensation, which came so long after, should disannul the covenant which God had made with Abraham and his spiritual seed four hundred and thirty years before. Upon this account, as the apostle observes, the Scripture sets forth Abraham as the great type and pattern of justification, as 'the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed to them also; and the father of circumcision, to them who are not of the circumcision only, but also walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised.'² 'They, therefore, that are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham,'³ and the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the

¹ Rom. iv. 9, 10, 11.

² Gal. iii. 17.

³ Rom. iv. 1, 12.

heathen through faith, preached before the gospel' (this evangelical way of justifying) 'unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed. So then they which be of faith,' who believe and obey, as Abraham did, 'shall be blessed,' pardoned and saved, 'with faithful Abraham.'¹ It might further be demonstrated, that this has ever been God's method of dealing with mankind, our apostle, in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, proving all along, by particular instances, that it was by such a faith as this, without any relation to the law of Moses, that good men were justified and accepted with God in all ages of the world.

12. Thirdly ; he argues against this Jewish way of justification, from the deficiency and imperfection of the Mosaic economy, not able to justify and save sinners. Deficient, as not able to assist those that were under it with sufficient aids to perform what it required of them : 'This the law could not do, for that it was weak through the flesh,' till 'God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh,' to enable us, 'that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit.'² And, indeed, 'could the law have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law :'³ but, alas ! the Scripture having concluded all mankind, Jew and Gentile, under sin, and consequently incapable of being justified upon terms of perfect and entire obedience ; there is now no other way but this, that 'the promise by the faith of Christ be given to all them that believe ;' i. e. this evangelical method of justify-

¹ Gal. iii. 8, 9.

² Rom. viii. 3, 4.

³ Gal. iii. 21.

ing sincere believers. Besides, the Jewish economy was deficient in pardoning sin, and procuring the grace and favour of God; it could only awaken the knowledge of sin, not remove the guilt of it: ‘It was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin;’¹ all the sacrifices of the Mosaic law were no further available for the pardon of sin, than merely as they were founded in, and had respect to that great sacrifice and expiation which was to be made for the sins of mankind by the death of the Son of God. ‘The priests, though they daily ministered, and oftentimes offered the same sacrifices, yet could they never take away sins.’² No, that was reserved for a better and a higher sacrifice, even that of our Lord himself, who, ‘after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God,’ having completed that which the repeated sacrifices of the law could never effect. So that all men being under guilt, and no justification, where there was no remission, the Jewish economy being in itself unable to pardon, was incapable to justify. This St. Paul elsewhere declared in an open assembly before Jews and Gentiles; ‘Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man’ (Christ Jesus) ‘is preached unto you forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.’³

13. Fourthly; he proves that justification by the Mosaic law could not stand with the death of Christ; the necessity of whose death and sufferings

¹ Heb. x. 4.

² Ibid. v. 11, 12.

³ Acts, xiii. 38, 39.

it did plainly evacuate and take away: for, ‘if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.’¹ If the Mosaical performances be still necessary to our justification, then certainly it was to very little purpose, and altogether unbecoming the wisdom and goodness of God, to send his own Son into the world, to do so much for us, and to suffer such exquisite pains and tortures. Nay, he tells them, that while they persisted in this fond obstinate opinion, all that Christ had done and suffered could be of no advantage to them. ‘Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not again entangled in the yoke of bondage,’² the bondage and servitude of the Mosaic rites. ‘Behold, I Paul,’ solemnly ‘say unto ye, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing: for I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law; Christ is become of none effect to you; whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.’ The sum of which argument is, that whoever lay the stress of their justification upon circumcision and the observances of the law, do thereby declare themselves to be under an obligation of perfect obedience to all that the law requires of them, and accordingly supersede the virtue and efficacy of Christ’s death, and disclaim all right and title to the grace and favour of the gospel. For, since Christ’s death is abundantly sufficient to attain its ends, whoever takes in another, plainly renounces this, and rests upon that of his own choosing. By these ways of reasoning, it is evident what the apostle drives at in all his dis-

¹ Gal. ii. 21.

² Gal. v. 1, 2, 3, 4.

courses about this matter. More might have been observed, had I not thought that these are sufficient to render his design, especially to the unprejudiced and impartial, obvious and plain enough.

14. Lastly; that St. Paul's discourses about justification and salvation do immediately refer to the controversy between the orthodox and Judaizing Christians, appears hence, that there was no other controversy then on foot, but concerning the way of justification, whether it was by the observation of the law of Moses, or only of the gospel and the law of Christ. For we must needs suppose, that the apostle wrote with a primary respect to the present state of things, and so as they whom he had to deal with, might and could not but understand him: which yet would have been impossible for them to have done, had he intended them for the controversies which have since been handled with so much zeal and fierceness, and to give countenance to those many nice and subtle propositions, those curious and elaborate schemes which some men, in these later ages, have drawn of these matters.

15. From the whole discourse two consequences especially plainly follow. I. **CONSECT.**—*That works of evangelical obedience are not opposed to faith in justification.* By works of evangelical obedience, I mean such Christian duties as are the fruits, not of our own power and strength, but God's Spirit, done by the assistance of his grace. And that these are not opposed to faith, is undeniably evident, in that (as we observed before) faith, as including the new nature, and the keeping God's commands, is made the usual condition of justification. Nor can it be otherwise, when other graces

and virtues of the Christian life are made the terms of pardon and acceptance with heaven, and of our title to the merits of Christ's death, and the great promise of eternal life. Thus repentance, which is not so much a single act, as a complex body of Christian duties, ‘Repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost;’¹ ‘Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.’² So charity and forgiveness of others: ‘Forgive, if ye have aught against any, that your Father also, which is in heaven, may forgive you your trespasses:’³ ‘For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father also will forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive yours.’⁴ Sometimes evangelical obedience in general: ‘God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him.’⁵ ‘If we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanses us from all sin.’⁶ What privilege then has faith above other graces in this matter? are we justified by faith? We are pardoned and accepted with God upon our repentance, charity, and other acts of evangelical obedience. Is faith opposed to the works of the Mosaic law in justification? so are works of evangelical obedience: ‘circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping the commandments of God.’⁷ Does faith give glory to God, and set the crown upon his head? works of evangelical obedi-

¹ Acts, ii. 38. ² Ibid. iii. 17. ³ Mark, xi. 25, 26.

⁴ Matt. vi. 14, 15. ⁵ Acts, x. 34, 35. ⁶ 1 John, i. 7.

⁷ 1 Cor. vii. 19.

ence are equally the effects of divine grace, both preventing and assisting of us, and indeed are not so much our works as his: so that the glory of all must needs be entirely resolved into the grace of God; nor can any man in such circumstances, with the least pretence of reason, lay claim to merit, or boast of his own achievements. Hence the apostle magnifies the evangelical method of justification above that of the law, that it wholly excludes all proud reflections upon ourselves: ‘Where is boasting then? it is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay, but by the law of faith.’¹ The Mosaical economy fostered men up in proud and high thoughts of themselves; they looked upon themselves as a peculiar people, honoured above all other nations of the world, the seed of Abraham, invested with mighty privileges, &c. Whereas the gospel, proceeding upon other principles, takes away all foundations of pride, by acknowledging our acceptance with God, and the power whereby we are enabled to make good the terms and conditions of it, to be the mere result of the divine grace and mercy, and that the whole scheme of our salvation, as it was the contrivance of the divine wisdom, so is the purchase of the merit and satisfaction of our crucified Saviour. Nor is faith itself less than other graces an act of evangelical obedience, and if separated from them is of no moment or value in the accounts of heaven: ‘Though I have all faith and have no charity, I am nothing.’² ‘All faith,’ be it of what kind soever. To this may be added, that no tolerable account can be given, why that which is on all hands granted to be the condition of our

¹ Rom. iii. 27.

² 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

salvation (such is evangelical obedience) should not be the condition of our justification; and at the great day Christians shall be acquitted or condemned according as in this world they have fulfilled or neglected the conditions of the gospel: the decretory sentence of absolution that shall then be passed upon good men, shall be nothing but a public and solemn declaration of that private sentence of justification that was passed upon them in this world; so that upon the same terms that they are justified now, they shall be justified and acquitted then, and upon the same terms that they shall then be judged and acquitted they are justified now, viz. a hearty belief of, and a sincere obedience to the gospel. From all which, I hope, it is evident, that when St. Paul denies men to be justified by the works of the law, by works he either means works done before conversion, and by the strength of men's natural powers, such as enabled them to pride and boast themselves, and lay claim to merit, or (which most-what includes the other) the works of the Mosaic law. And indeed though the controversies on foot in those times did not plainly determine his reasonings that way, yet the considerations which we have now suggested, sufficiently show that they could not be meant of any other sense.

16. CONSECT. II.—*That the doctrines of St. Paul and St. James about justification are fairly consistent with each other.* For seeing St. Paul's design, in excluding works from justification, was only to deny the works of the Jewish law, or those that were meritorious as being wrought by our own strength, and in asserting, that in opposition to such works we are 'justified by faith,' he meant

no more than that either we are justified in an evangelical way, or more particularly by faith intended a practical belief, including evangelical obedience: and seeing, on the other hand, St. James in affirming ‘that we are justified by works, and not by faith only;’ by works, means no more than evangelical obedience, in opposition to a naked and an empty faith; these two are so far from quarrelling that they mutually embrace each other, and both in the main pursue the same design. And indeed if any disagreement seem between them, it is most reasonable that St. Paul should be expounded by St. James, not only because his propositions are so express and positive, and not justly liable to ambiguity, but because he wrote some competent time after the other, and consequently as he perfectly understood his meaning, so he was capable to counterminate those ill principles which some men had built upon St. Paul’s assertions. For it is evident, from several passages in St. Paul’s epistles, that even then many began to mistake his doctrine, and from his assertions about justification by faith, and not by works, to infer propositions that might serve the purposes of a bad life; ‘they slanderously reported him to say, that we might do evil, that good might come;’¹ ‘that we might continue in sin, that the grace of the gospel might the more abound.’² They thought that so long as they did but believe the gospel in the naked notion and speculation of it, it was enough to recommend them to the favour of God, and to serve all the purposes of justification and salvation, however they shaped and steered their lives. Against these

¹ Rom. iii. 8.

² Rom. vi. 1.

men it is beyond all question plain, that St. James levels his epistle, to batter down the growing doctrines of libertinism and profaneness, to show the insufficiency of a naked faith, and an empty profession of religion, that it is not enough to recommend us to the divine acceptance, and to justify us in the sight of heaven, barely to believe the gospel, unless we really obey and practise it;¹ that a faith destitute of this evangelical obedience is fruitless and unprofitable to salvation; that it is by these works that faith must appear to be vital and sincere; that not only Rahab but Abraham, the father of the faithful, was justified not by a bare belief of God's promise, but a hearty obedience to God's command, in the ready offer of his son, whereby it appears that his faith and obedience did co-operate and conspire together, to render him capable of God's favour and approbation; and that 'herein the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, that Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness;' (whence, by the way, nothing can be clearer, than that both these apostles intend the same thing by faith, in the case of Abraham's justification, and its being 'imputed to him for righteousness,' viz. a practical belief and obedience to the commands of God;) that it follows hence, that faith is not of itself sufficient to justify and make us acceptable to God, unless a proportionable obedience be joined with it; without which faith serves no more to these ends and purposes, than a body destitute of the soul to animate and enliven it, is capable to exercise the functions and offices of the natural life. His meaning, in

¹ Vid. chap. ii. ver. 14, 15, et seq.

short, being nothing else than that good works, or evangelical obedience, is, according to the divine appointment, the condition of the gospel-covenant, without which it is in vain for any to hope for that pardon which Christ hath purchased, and for that favour of God, which is necessary to eternal life.

ST. ANDREW.

THE sacred story, which has hitherto been very large and copious in describing the acts of the first two apostles, is henceforward very sparing in its accounts, giving us only now and then a few oblique and accidental remarks concerning the rest, and some of them no further mentioned than the mere recording of their names. For what reasons it pleased the Divine wisdom and providence, that no more of their acts should be consigned to writing by the penmen of the holy story is to us unknown. Probably it might be thought convenient that no more account should be given of the first plantations of Christianity in the world than what concerned Judæa, and the neighbour-countries, at least the most eminent places of the Roman empire; that so the truth of the prophetical predictions might appear, which had foretold that the law of the Messiah ‘should come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.’ Besides which, a particular relation of the acts of so many apostles, done in so many several countries, might have swelled the holy volumes into too great

a bulk, and rendered them less serviceable and accommodate to the ordinary use of Christians. Among the apostles that succeed we first take notice of St. Andrew. He was born at Bethsaida, a city of Galilee, standing upon the banks of the lake of Genesareth, son to John, or Jonas, a fisherman of that town ; brother he was to Simon Peter, but whether elder or younger the ancients do not clearly decide, though the major part intimate him to have been the younger brother, there being only the single authority of Epiphanius on the other side, as we have formerly noted. He was brought up to his father's trade, whereat he laboured, till our Lord called him from catching fish, to be a 'fisher of men,' for which he was fitted by some preparatory institutions, even before his coming unto Christ.

2. John the Baptist was lately risen in the Jewish church; a person whom, for the efficacy and impartiality of his doctrine, and the extraordinary strictness and austeries of his life, the Jews generally had in great veneration. He trained up his proselytes under the discipline of repentance, and by urging upon them a severe change and reformation of life, prepared them to entertain the doctrine of the Messiah, whose approach, he told them, was now near at hand ; representing to them the greatness of his person, and the importance of the design that he was come upon. Besides the multitudes that promiscuously flocked to the Baptist's discourses, he had, according to the manner of the Jewish masters, some peculiar and select disciples, who more constantly attended upon his lectures, and for the most part waited upon his person. In the number of these was our apostle, who was then

with him about Jordan, when our Saviour, who some time since had been baptized, came that way; upon whose approach the Baptist told them, that this was the Messiah, the great person whom he had so often spoken of, to usher in whose appearing his whole ministry was but subservient; that this was ‘the Lamb of God,’ the true sacrifice that was to expiate the sins of mankind. Upon this testimony Andrew and another disciple (probably St. John) follow our Saviour to the place of his abode: upon which account he is generally, by the fathers and ancient writers, styled *πρωτόκλητος*, or the ‘first called’ disciple;¹ though in a strict sense he was not so; for though he was the first of the disciples that came to Christ, yet was he not called till afterwards. After some converse with him, Andrew goes to acquaint his brother Simon, and both together came to Christ. Long they staid not with him, but returned to their own home, and to the exercise of their calling, wherein they were employed; when somewhat more than a year after, our Lord, passing through Galilee, found them fishing upon the sea of Tiberias, where he fully satisfied them of the greatness and divinity of his person, by the convictive evidence of that miraculous draught of fishes which they took at his command. And now he told them he had other work for them to do; that they should no longer deal in fish, but in men, whom they should catch with the efficacy and influence of that doctrine that he was come to deliver to the world; commanding them to follow him, as his immediate

¹ Ωξ πρωτόκλητον πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν, ἐπ αὐτόπτην τὰ λόγια καὶ ὑπεροχὸν, Ἀπόστολε, κατὰ χρέος τιμῶμεν σε.—Menæon Græccr. ἡμέρ. λ'. Νοεμβρ. sub. lit. δ'.

disciples and attendants, who accordingly left all and followed him. Shortly after, St. Andrew, together with the rest, was called to the office and honour of the apostolate, made choice of to be one of those that were to be Christ's immediate vicegerents for planting and propagating the Christian church. Little else is particularly recorded of him in the sacred story, being comprehended in the general account of the rest of the apostles.

3. After our Lord's ascension into heaven, and that the Holy Ghost had, in its miraculous powers, been plentifully shed upon the apostles, to fit them for the great errand they were to go upon, to root out profaneness and idolatry, and to subdue the world to the doctrine of the gospel, it is generally affirmed by the ancients, that the apostles agreed among themselves, (by lot say some,¹) probably not without the special guidance and direction of the Holy Ghost, what parts of the world they should severally take. In this division St. Andrew had Scythia and the neighbouring countries primarily allotted him for his province.² First, then, he travelled through Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and instructed them in the faith of Christ; passing all along the Euxine sea, (formerly called Axenus,³ from the barbarous and inhospitable temper of the people thereabouts, who were wont to sacrifice strangers, and of their skulls to make cups to drink in at their feasts and banquets,) and so into the solitudes of Scythia. An ancient author⁴ (though

¹ Socr. H. Eccl. lib. i. c. 19, p. 50.

² Orig. in Gen. lib. iii. ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 71, Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 39, p. 199.

³ Strab. Geogr. lib. vii. p. 206.

⁴ Commentar. de S. Andr. Apost. et πρωτοκλήτω, extat Græc. in Menæo Græcor. λ'. τῶ Noεμέρ. sub. lit. π'.

whence deriving his intelligence I know not) gives us a more particular account of his travels and transactions in these parts. He tells us, that he first came to Amynsus, where being entertained by a Jew, he went into the synagogue, discoursed to them concerning Christ, and from the prophecies of the Old Testament proved him to be the Messiah, and the Saviour of the world. Having here converted and baptized many, ordered their public meeting, and ordained them priests, he went next to Trapezus, a maritime city upon the Euxine sea; whence, after many other places, he came to Nice, where he staid two years, preaching and working miracles with great success; thence to Nicomedia, and so to Chalcedon; whence sailing through the Propontis he came by the Euxine sea to Heraclea, and from thence to Amastris: in all which places he met with great difficulties and discouragements, but overcame all with an invincible patience and resolution. He next came to Sinope, a city situated upon the same sea, a place famous both for the birth and burial of the great king Mithridates; here, as my author reports from the ancients, (*ὡς φασὶ λόγοι παλαιοί*,) he met with his brother Peter, with whom he staid a considerable time at this place: as a monument whereof, he tells us, that the chairs made of white stone, wherein they were wont to sit while they taught the people, were still extant, and commonly showed in his time. The inhabitants of this city were most Jews, who partly through zeal for their religion, partly through the barbarousness of their manners, were quickly exasperated against the apostle, and contriving together, attempted to burn the house wherein he sojourned; however, they

treated him with all the instances of savage cruelty, throwing him to the ground, stamping upon him with their feet, pulling and dragging him from place to place, some beating him with clubs, others pelting him with stones; and some, the better to satisfy their revenge, biting off his flesh with their teeth; till apprehending they had fully dispatched him, they cast him out of the city. But he miraculously recovered, and publicly returned into the city, whereby, and by some other miracles which he wrought amongst them, he reduced many to a better mind, converting them to the faith. Departing hence, he went again to Amynsus, and then to Trapezus, thence to Neocæsarea, and to Samosata, (the birth-place of the witty but impious Lucian,) where having baffled the acute and wise philosophers, he purposed to return to Jerusalem. Whence, after some time, he betook himself to his former provinces, travelling to the country of the Abasgi, where at Sebastople, situate upon the eastern shore of the Euxine sea, between the influx of the rivers Phasis and Apsarus, he successfully preached the gospel to the inhabitants of that city. Hence he removed into the country of the Zecchi, and the Bosphorani, part of the Asiatic Scythia, or Sarmatia; but finding the inhabitants very barbarous and intractable, he stayed not long among them, only at Cherson or Chersonesus, a great and populous city within the Bosphorus; he continued some time, instructing and confirming them in the faith. Hence, taking ship, he sailed across the sea to Sinope, situate in Paphlagonia, the royal seat of the great king Mithridates, to encourage and confirm the churches which he had lately planted in those parts; and here he ordained Philologus, for-

merly one of St. Paul's disciples, bishop of that city.

4. Hence he came to Byzantium, (since called Constantinople,) where he instructed them in the knowledge of the Christian religion, founded a church for divine worship, and ordained Stachys (whom St. Paul calls 'his beloved Stachys') first bishop of that place. Baronius,¹ indeed, is unwilling to believe this, desirous to engross the honour of it to St. Peter, whom he will have to have been the first planter of Christianity in these parts. But besides that Baronius's authority is very slight and insignificant in this case, (as we have before noted in St. Peter's life,) this matter is expressly asserted not only by Nicephorus Callistus,² but by another Nicephorus,³ patriarch of Constantinople, and who therefore may be presumed knowing in his predecessors in that see. Banished out of the city by him who at that time usurped the government, he fled to Argyropolis, a place near at hand, where he preached the gospel for two years together with good success, converting great numbers to the faith. After this he travelled over Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia; Nazianzen⁴ adds Epirus, in all which places for many years he preached and propagated Christianity, and confirmed the doctrine that he taught with great signs and miracles. At last he came to Patræ, a city of Achaia, where he

¹ Ad An. 44, N. 31, vid. ad An. 314, n. 94, 95, &c.

² H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 39; lib. v. c. 6, p. 540.

³ Ἀνδρέας ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν λόγον κηρύξας, ἐνκτήθιον οἴκου πέραν ἐν Ἀργηροπόλει δειμάμενος χειροτονεῖ ἐπίσκοπον τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Στάχυν, ἦμερηται Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ρωμαίως ἐπιτολῇ.—Niceph. C. P. in Chronogr. à Scal. edit. p. 309; vid. etiam Men. Græc. ubi supr.

⁴ Orat. 25, p. 438.

gave his last and great testimony to it; I mean laid down his own life to ratify and ensure it. In describing his marytrdom we shall, for the main, follow the account that is given us in the ‘*Acts of his Passion*,’¹ pretended to have been written by the presbyters and deacons of Achaia, present at his martyrdom; which, though I dare not with some assert to be the genuine work of those persons, yet can it not be denied to be of considerable antiquity, being mentioned by Philastrius,² who flourished anno 380, and were no doubt written long before his time. The sum of it is this.

5. Ægeas, proconsul of Achaia, came at this time to Patræ, where observing that multitudes were fallen off from paganism, and had embraced Christianity, he endeavoured by all arts both of favour and cruelty to reduce the people to their old idolatries. To him the apostle resolutely makes his address, calmly puts him in mind, that he, being but a judge of men, should own and revere him who was the supreme and impartial judge of all, that he should give him that divine honour which was due to him, and leave off the impieties of his false heathen worship. The proconsul derided him as an innovator in religion, a propagator of that superstition, whose author the Jews had infamously put to death upon a cross. Hereat the apostle took occasion to discourse to him of the infinite love and kindness of our Lord, who came into the world to purchase the salvation of mankind, and for that end did not disdain to die upon the cross. To whom the proconsul answered, that he might persuade them so that would believe him; for his

¹ Extant apud Sur. ad diem 30 Novemb. p. 653.

² De Hæres. c. 89.

part, if he did not comply with him in doing sacrifice to the gods, he would cause him to suffer upon that cross which he had so much extolled and magnified. St. Andrew replied, that he did sacrifice every day to God, the only true and Omnipotent Being, not with fumes and bloody offerings, but in the sacrifice of the immaculate Lamb of God. The issue was, the apostle was committed to prison; whereat the people were so enraged, that it had broken out into a mutiny had not the apostle restrained them, persuading them to imitate the mildness and patience of our meek humble Saviour, and not to hinder him from that crown of martyrdom that now waited for him.

6. The next day he was again brought before the proconsul, who persuaded him that he would not foolishly destroy himself, but live and enjoy with him the pleasures of this life. The apostle told him, that he should have with him eternal joys, if, renouncing his execrable idolatries, he would heartily entertain Christianity, which he had hitherto so successfully preached amongst them. That, answered the proconsul, is the very reason why I am so earnest with you to sacrifice to the gods, that those whom you have everywhere seduced, may by your example be brought to return back to that ancient religion which they have forsaken: otherwise I will cause you with exquisite tortures to be crucified. The apostle replied, that now he saw it was in vain any longer to deal with him, a person incapable of sober counsels, and hardened in his own blindness and folly; that as for himself, he might do his worst, and if he had one torment greater than another, he might heap that upon him: the greater constancy he showed in his sufferings for Christ,

the more acceptable he should be to his Lord and master. Ægeas could now hold no longer, but passed the sentence of death upon him; and Nicephorus¹ gives us some more particular account of the proconsul's displeasure and rage against him, which was, that amongst others he had converted his wife, Maximilla, and his brother, Stratocles, to the Christian faith, having cured them of desperate distempers that had seized upon them.

7. The proconsul first commanded him to be scourged, seven lictors successively whipping his naked body; and seeing his invincible patience and constancy, commanded him to be crucified, but not to be fastened to the cross with nails, but cords, that so his death might be more lingering and tedious. As he was led to execution, to which he went with a cheerful and composed mind, the people cried out, that he was an innocent and good man, and unjustly condemned to die.² Being come within sight of the cross, he saluted it with this kind of address, that he had long desired and expected this happy hour, that the cross had been consecrated by the body of Christ hanging on it, and adorned with his members as with so many inestimable jewels, that he came joyful and triumphing to it, that it might receive him as a disciple and follower of him who once hung upon it, and be the means to carry him safe unto his master, having been the instrument upon which his master had redeemed him. Having prayed, and exhorted the people to constancy and perseverance in that religion which he had delivered to them, he was fastened

¹ Lib. ii. c. 39, p. 200, vid. Menæon Græc. ad diem 30 Novemb. ubi eadem habent.

² Bern. Serm. 2. de S. Andr. p. 327.

to the cross, whereon he hung two days, teaching and instructing the people all the time; and when great importuniteis, in the mean while, were used to the proconsul to spare his life, he earnestly begged of our Lord, that he might at this time depart and seal the truth of his religion with his blood. God heard his prayer, and he immediately expired, on the last of November, though in what year no certain account can be recovered.

8. There seems to have been something peculiar in that cross that was the instrument of his martyrdom, commonly affirmed to have been a cross decussate, two pieces of timber crossing each other in the middle, in the form of the letter X, hence usually known by the name of St. Andrew's cross; though there want not those who affirm him to have been crucified upon an olive-tree.¹ His body being taken down and embalmed, was decently and honourably interred by Maximilla, a lady of great quality and estate, and whom Nicephorus, I know not upon what ground, makes wife to the proconsul. As for that report of Gregory, bishop of Tours,² that on the anniversary day of his martyrdom, there was wont to flow from St. Andrew's tomb a most fragrant and precious oil, which according to its quantity denoted the scarceness or plenty of the following year; and that the sick being anointed with this oil were restored to their former health, I leave to the reader's discretion, to believe what he please of it. For my part, if there be any ground of truth in the story, I believe it to be no more than that it was an exhalation and sweating

¹ Chrysost. in S. Andr. Serm. 133, p. 120, Hippol. Comment. MS. Gr. ap. Bar. Not. in Martyr. ad 30 Novemb.

² De Glor. Martyr. lib. i. c. 31, p. 37.

forth at some times of those rich costly perfumes and ointments wherewith his body was embalmed after his crucifixion. Though I must confess this conjecture to be impossible, if that be true which my author adds, that some years the oil burst out in such plenty, that the stream arose to the middle of the church. His body was afterwards, by Constantine the Great,¹ solemnly removed to Constantinople, and buried in the great church, which he had built to the honour of the apostles; which being taken down some hundred years after, by Justinian the emperor,² in order to its reparation, the body was found in a wooden coffin, and again reposed in its proper place.

9. I shall conclude the history of this apostle with that encomiastic character which one of the ancients gives of him.³ “ St. Andrew was the first-born of the apostolic quire, the main and prime pillar of the church, a rock before the rock, (*ὁ πρὸς Πέτρος Πέτρος,*) the foundation of that foundation, the first-fruits of the beginning, a caller of others before he was called himself; he preached that gospel that was not yet believed or entertained; revealed and made known that life to his brother, which he had not yet perfectly learned himself. So great treasures did that one question bring him, ‘ Master, where dwellest thou?’ which he soon perceived by the answer given him, and which he deeply pondered in his mind, ‘ Come and see.’ How art thou become a prophet? whence thus divinely skilful? what is it that thou thus soundest

¹ Hieron. adv. Vigil. p. 122, tom. ii.

² Procop. de ædific. Justin. lib. i.

³ Hesych. Presb. Hierosolym. apud Phot. Cod. cclxix. Col.

in Peter's ears? ['We have found him,' &c.] why dost thou attempt to compass him, whom thou canst not comprehend? how can he be found who is omnipresent? But he knew well what he said: we have found him, whom Adam lost, whom Eve injured, whom the clouds of sin have hidden from us, and whom our transgressions had hitherto made a stranger to us," &c. So that of all our Lord's apostles St. Andrew had thus far the honour to be the first preacher of the gospel.

ST. JAMES THE GREAT.

ST. JAMES, surnamed the Great, either because of his age, being much elder than the other, or for some peculiar honours and favours which our Lord conferred upon him, was by country a Galilean, born, probably, either at Capernaum or Bethsaida, being one of Simon Peter's partners in the trade of fishing. He was the son of Zebdai, or Zebedee, (and probably the same whom the Jews mention in their Talmud, 'רַבִּי יַעֲקֹב בֶּן זְبָדִי,'¹ 'Rabbi James, or Jacob the son of Zebedee,'¹) a fisherman; and the many servants which he kept for that employment, (a circumstance not taken notice of in any other,) speak him a man of some more considerable note in that trade and way of life; ἐπίσημος τῶν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ μετοικέντων ἀνδρῶν,² as Nicephorus notes. His mother's name was Mary, surnamed Salome, called first Taviphilia, says an ancient Arabic writer,³ the daughter, as is most probable, not wife of Cleopas, sister to Mary, the mother of our Lord;

¹ Mark. i. 20.

² H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 3, p. 135.

³ Apud Kirsten. de vit. Quat. Evangel. p. 47. John xix. 25.

not her own sister, properly so called, (the blessed virgin being, in all likelihood an only daughter,) but cousin-german, styled her sister, according to the mode and custom of the Jews, who were wont to call all such near relations by the names of brothers and sisters; and in this respect he had the honour of a near relation to our Lord himself. His education was in the trade of fishing. No employment is base that is honest and industrious; nor can it be thought mean and dishonourable to him, when it is remembered, that our Lord himself, the Son of God, stooped so low as not only to become the [reputed] son of a carpenter, but, during the retirements of his private life, to work himself at his father's trade, not devoting himself merely to contemplations, nor withdrawing from all useful society with the world, and hiding himself in the solitudes of an anchorit; but busying himself in an active course of life, working at the trade of a carpenter,¹ and particularly (as one of the ancients tells us²) making ploughs and yokes. And this the sacred history does not only plainly intimate, but it is generally asserted by the ancient writers of the church:³ a thing so notorious, that the heathens used to object it as a reproach to Christianity.

¹ Mark vi. 3; Matt. xiii. 55.

² Τέκτων ποιιζόμενος, ταῦτα γάρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀιθρώποις ὅντις, ἀροτραὶ καὶ ζύγα· διὰ τάτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δίκαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων, καὶ ἐνεργῇ ζίουν.—J. Mart. dial. cum Tryph. p. 316.

³ Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν τοῖς γονεῦσιν υποτασπόμενος, ἅπαντα πόνον σωματικὸν πρόφας καὶ ὑπειθῶς συνδιέφερεν. Ανθρώποι γάρ ὅτες δίκαιοι μεν καὶ ἐνσεβεῖς, πένητες δε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκιών ἄκα εὑπογοι, &c. πάντας καὶ τῷ συνδιαφέρειν τὰς ποίης τὴν ἐνπειφιαν ἐπεδείκνυτο.—Bas Constit. Monast c. 4, p. 764, tom. ii. vid. Hilar. in Matth. Can. 4.

Thence that smart and acute repartee which a Christian schoolmaster made to Libanius, the famous orator, at Antioch,¹ when upon Julian's expedition into Persia, (where he was killed,) he asked in scorn, what the carpenter's son was now a-doing? The Christian replied with salt enough, that the great Artificer of the world, whom he scoffingly called the carpenter's son, was making a coffin for his master Julian; the news of whose death was brought soon after. But this only by the way.

2. St. James applied himself to his father's trade, not discouraged with the meanness, not sinking under the difficulties of it; and, as usually the blessings of heaven meet men in the way of an honest and industrious diligence, it was in the exercise of this calling, when our Saviour, passing by the sea of Galilee, saw him and his brother in the ship, and called them to be his disciples. A divine power went along with the word, which they no sooner heard but cheerfully complied with it, immediately leaving all to follow him. They did not stay to dispute his commands, to argue the probability of his promise, solicitously to inquire into the minute consequences of the undertaking, what troubles and hazards might attend this new employment, but readily delivered up themselves to whatever services he should appoint them. And the cheerfulness of their obedience is yet farther considerable, that they left their aged father in the ship behind them. For elsewhere we find others excusing themselves from an immediate attendance upon Christ, upon pretence that they must go bury their father, or take their leave of their kindred at

¹ Theod. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 18, p. 105.

home.¹ No such slight and trivial pretences could stop the resolution of our apostles, who broke through the considerations, and quitted their present interests and relations. Say not it was unnaturally done of them, to desert their father, an aged person, and in some measure unable to help himself. For, besides that they left servants with him to attend him, it is not cruelty to our earthly, but obedience to our heavenly Father, to leave the one that we may comply with the call and summons of the other. It was the triumph of Abraham's faith, when God called him to leave his kindred and his father's house, 'to go out,' and sojourn in a foreign country, 'not knowing whither he went.' Nor can we doubt but that Zebedee himself would have gone along with them, had not his age given him a supersedeas from such an active and ambulatory course of life. But though they left him at this time, it is very reasonable to suppose, that they took care to instruct him in the doctrine of the Messiah, and to acquaint him with the glad tidings of salvation; especially since we find their mother Salome so hearty a friend to, so constant a follower of our Saviour: but this (if we may believe the account which one gives of it²) was after her husband's decease, who probably lived not long after, dying before the time of our Saviour's passion.

3. It was not long after this, that he was called from the station of an ordinary disciple, to the apostolical office; and not only so, but honoured with some peculiar acts of favour beyond most of

¹ Luke ix. 59—61.

² Zachar. Chrysopol. Comm. in Concord. Evang. p. 111.

the apostles, being one of the three whom our Lord usually made choice of to admit to the more intimate transactions of his life, from which the others were excluded. Thus, with Peter and his brother John, he was taken to the miraculous raising of Jairus's daughter; admitted to Christ's glorious transfiguration upon the mount, and the discourses that there passed between him and the two great ministers of heaven; taken along with him into the garden, to be a spectator of those bitter agonies, which the holy Jesus was to undergo as the preparatory sufferings to his passion. What were the reasons of our Lord's admitting these three apostles to these more special acts of favour than the rest is not easy to determine; though surely our Lord, who governed all his actions by principles of the highest prudence and reason, did it for wise and proper ends; whether it was that he designed these three to be more solemn and peculiar witnesses of some particular passages of his life than the other apostles, or that they would be more eminently useful and serviceable in some parts of the apostolic office, or that hereby he would the better prepare and encourage them against suffering, as intending them for some more eminent kinds of martyrdom or suffering than the rest were to undergo.

4. Nor was it the least instance of that particular honour which our Lord conferred upon these three apostles, that at his calling them to the apostolate, he gave them the addition of a new name and title. A thing not unusual of old, for God to impose a new name upon persons, when designing them for some great and peculiar services and employments. Thus he did to Abraham and Jacob.

Nay, the thing was customary among the Gentiles, as, had we no other instances, might appear from those which the Scripture gives us : Pharoah's giving a new name to Joseph, when advancing him to be viceroy of Egypt ; Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel, &c. Thus did our Lord in the election of these three apostles ; ‘ Simon he surnamed Peter, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother he surnamed Boanerges,’¹ which is, ‘the sons of thunder. What our Lord particularly intended in this title, is easier to conjecture than certainly to determine ; some think it was given them upon the account of their being present in the mount, when a voice came out of the cloud, and said, ‘This is my beloved son,’² &c. The like whereto when the people heard at another time, they cried out, ‘that it thundered.’³ But besides that this account is in itself very slender and inconsiderable ; if so, then the title must equally have belonged to Peter, who was then present with them. Others think it was upon the account of their loud, bold, and resolute preaching Christianity to the world, fearing no threatenings, daunted with no oppositions, but going on to ‘thunder’ in the ears of the secure sleepy world, rousing and awakening the consciences of men with the earnestness and vehemency of their preaching ; as thunder, which is called ‘God’s voice,’ powerfully shakes the natural world, and breaks in pieces the cedars of Lebanon :⁴ or if it relate to the doctrines they de-

¹ Mark iii. 16, 17 ; Hieron. Comm. in Marc. c. 3, p. 92, tom. ix. Gaudent. Brix. Tract. 1, de Lect. Evang. seu, in ordine, 8.

² Matt. xvii. 5.

³ John xii. 29.

⁴ “Filios Zebedæi Boanerges, hoc est, filios tonitruui vocat,

livered, it might signify their teaching the great mysteries and speculations of the gospel in a profounder strain than the rest ; νιψ δὲ βροντῆς ὄνομά ζει τὰς τε Ζεβεδαίς, ὡς μεγαλοκήρυκας καὶ θεολογικωτάτες,¹ as Theophylact notes ; which how true it might be of our St. James, the Scripture is wholly silent ; but was certainly verified of his brother John, whose gospel is so full of the more sublime notions and mysteries of the gospel concerning Christ's Deity, eternal pre-existence, &c., that he is generally affirmed by the ancients, not so much to 'speak,' as thunder.² Probably the expression may denote no more, than that in general they were to be prime and eminent ministers, in this new scene and state of things ; the introducing of the gospel or evangelical dispensation, being called 'a voice shaking the heavens and the earth,' and so is exactly correspondent to the native importance of the word, signifying 'an earthquake,' or a vehement commotion that makes a noise like to thunder.

5. However it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had respect to the furious and resolute disposition of those two brothers, who seem to have been of a more fierce and fiery temper than the rest of the apostles ; whereof we have this memorable instance Our Lord being resolved upon his journey to Jerusalem, sent some of his disciples as harbingers to prepare his way, who coming to a village of Samaria, were uncivilly rejected, and refused entertain-

siquidem divina eorum prædicatio magnum quendam et illustrem sonitum per terrarum orbem datura erat."—Vict. Antioch. comment. in Marc. cap. 2.

¹ Comment. in Marc. 3, p. 205.

² Heb. xii. 26 ; Hag. ii. 7, ubi מִרְעָשׂ tremere faciam. Filii commotioni seu magnæ concussionis. כָּנוּ רַעַשׂ

ment; probably because of that old and inveterate quarrel that was between the Samaritans and the Jews, and more especially at this time, because that our Saviour seemed to slight mount Gerizim, (where was their staple and solemn place of worship,) by passing it by, to go and worship at Jerusalem; the reason in all likelihood why they denied him those common courtesies and conveniences due to all travellers. This piece of rudeness and inhumanity was presently so deeply resented by St. James and his brother, that they came to their master to know, whether as Elias did of old,¹ they might not pray down fire from heaven, to consume these barbarous and inhospitable people. So apt are men, for every trifle, to call upon heaven to minister to the extravagancies of their own impotent and unreasonable passions. But our Lord rebukes their zeal, tells them they quite mistook the case, that this was not the frame and temper of his disciples and followers, the nature and design of that evangelical dispensation that he was come to set on foot in the world, which was a more pure and perfect, a more mild and gentle institution, than what was under the Old Testament, in the times of 'Moses and Elias; the Son of man being come not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.'

6. The holy Jesus, not long after, set forwards in his journey to Jerusalem, in order to his crucifixion; and the better to prepare the minds of his apostles for his death and departure from them, he told them what he was to suffer, and yet that after all he should rise again. They, whose minds were yet big with expectations of a temporal power and mo-

¹ Luke ix. 54.

narchy, understood not well the meaning of his discourses to them. However, St. James and his brother, supposing the resurrection that he spoke of would be the time when his power and greatness would commence, prompted their mother, Salome, to put up a petition for them.¹ She, presuming probably on her relation to Christ, and knowing that our Saviour had promised his apostles, ‘that when he was come into his kingdom, they should sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel;’ and that he already honoured her two sons with an intimate familiarity, after leave modestly asked for her address, begged of him, that when he took possession of his kingdom, her two sons, James and John, might have the principal places of honour and dignity next his own person; the one sitting on his ‘right hand,’ and the ‘other’ on his ‘left,’ as the heads of Judah and Joseph had the first places among the rulers of the tribes in the Jewish nation. Our Lord directing his discourse to the two apostles, at whose suggestion he knew their mother had made this address, told them, they quite mistook the nature of his kingdom, which consisted not in external grandeur and sovereignty, but in an inward life and power, wherein the highest place would be to take the greatest pains, and to undergo the heaviest troubles and sufferings; that they should do well to consider, whether they were able to endure what he was to undergo, to drink of that bitter cup which he was to drink of, and to go through that baptism, wherein he was shortly to be baptized in his own blood. Our apostles were not yet cured of their ambitious humour; but either

¹ Matt. xx. 20.

not understanding the force of our Saviour's reasonings, or too confidently presuming upon their own strength, answered, that they could do all this. But he, the goodness of whose nature ever made him put the best and most candid interpretation upon men's words and actions; yea, even those of his great enemies; did not take the advantage of their hasty and inconsiderate reply, to treat them with sharp and quick reproofs; but mildly owning their forwardness to suffer, told them, that as for sufferings, they should indeed suffer as well as he, (and so we accordingly find they did; St. James, after all, dying a violent death; St. John enduring great miseries and torments; and might we believe Chrysostom and Theophylact, martyrdom itself, though others nearer to those times assure us he died a natural death,) but for any peculiar honour or dignity, he would not by an absolute and peremptory favour of his own, dispose of it any otherwise than according to those rules and instructions which he had received of his Father. The rest of the apostles were offended with this ambitious request of 'the sons of Zebedee'; but our Lord, to calm their passions, discoursed to them of the nature of the evangelical state, that it was not here, as in the kingdoms and 'seigniories' of this world, where the great ones receive homage and fealty from those that are under them, but that in his service humility was the way to honour; that whoever took most pains, and did most good, would be the greatest person, pre-eminence being here to be measured by industry and diligence, and a ready condescension to the meanest offices that might be subservient to the souls of men; and that this was no more than what he sufficiently taught them by his

own example, being come into the world, not to be served himself with any pompous circumstances of state and splendour, but to serve others, and to lay down his life for the redemption of mankind. With which discourse the storm blew over, and their exorbitant passions began on all hands to be allayed and pacified.

7. What became of St. James after our Saviour's ascension we have no certain account, either from sacred or ecclesiastical stories. Sophronius¹ tells us, that he preached to the dispersed Jews, which surely he means of that dispersion that was made of the Jewish converts after the death of Stephen. The Spanish writers generally contend, that having preached the gospel up and down Judæa and Samaria, after the death of Stephen he came to these western parts, and particularly into Spain, (some add Britain and Ireland²) where he planted Christianity, and appointed some select disciples to perfect what he had begun, and then returned back to Jerusalem. Of this there are no footsteps in any ancient writers, earlier than the middle ages of the church, when it is mentioned by Isidore,³ the Breviary of Toledo,⁴ and Arabic book of Anastasius,⁵ patriarch of Antioch, concerning the Passions of the Martyrs, and some others after them. Nay, Baronius⁶ himself, though endeavouring to render the account as smooth and plausible as he could,

¹ Apud Hieron. de script. Eccles. in Jacob.

² Pseudo. Dextr. Chronic. Vincent. Bellova. Spec. Historial. lib. viii. c. 7.

³ De vit. et obit. SS. utriusque Test. c. 72.

⁴ Brev. Tol. Instit. S. Isidori.

⁵ Apud Marian. de adv. Jac. in Hispan. c. 7, p. 11, sed ex fide aliorum.

⁶ In Not. ad Martyrol. ad 25, Jul. p. 452, vid. orat. Roder.

and to remove what objections lay against it; yet after all confesses, he did it only to show, that the thing was not impossible, nor to be accounted such a monstrous and extravagant fable as some men made it to be, as indeed elsewhere he plainly and peremptorily both denies and disproves it.¹ He could not but see, that the shortness of this apostle's life, the apostles continuing all in one entire body at Jerusalem, even after the dispersing of the other Christians, probably not going out of the bounds of Judæa for many years after our Lord's ascension, could not comport with so tedious and difficult a voyage, and the time which he must necessarily spend in those parts; and therefore it is safest to confine his ministry to Judæa, and the parts thereabouts, and to seek for him at Jerusalem, where we are sure to find him.

8. Herod Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and grandchild of Herod the Great, (under whom Christ was born) had been in great favour with the late emperor Caligula, but much more with his successor Claudius, who confirmed his predecessor's grant, with the addition of Judæa, Samaria, and Abilene, the remaining portions of his grandfather's dominions. Claudius being settled in the empire, Herod comes over from Rome to take possession, and to manage the affairs of his newly acquired kingdom. A prince noble and generous, prudent and politic, throughly versed in all the arts of courtship, able to oblige enemies, and to mollify or decline the displeasure of the emperor, (witness his subtile and cunning insinuations to Caligula, when he commanded the

Archiep. Tol. in Not. G. Loays. ad decret. Gund. Tomb. 4. Concil. p. 548, 549.

¹ Ad Ann. DCCCXVI. Numb. 69, 70, tom. ix.

Jews to account him a god¹) he was one that knew, let the wind blow which way it would, how to gain the point he aimed at; of a courteous and affable demeanour; but withal τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτίηρει,² a mighty zealot for the Jewish religion, and a most accurate observer of the Mosaic law, keeping himself free from all legal impurities, and suffering no day to pass over his head, in which he himself was not present at sacrifice. Being desirous in the entrance upon his sovereignty to insinuate himself into the favour of the populace, and led no less by his own zealous inclination, he saw no better way, than to fall heavy upon the Christians, a sort of men whom he knew the Jews infinitely hated, as a novel and an upstart sect, whose religion proclaimed open defiance to the Mosaic institutions. Hereupon he began to raise a persecution; but, alas, the commonalty were too mean a sacrifice to fall as the only victim to his zeal and popular designs—he must have a fatter and more honourable sacrifice. It was not long before St. James's stirring and active temper, his bold reproving of the Jews, and vigorous contending for the truth and excellency of the Christian religion, rendered him a fit object for his turn. Him he commands to be apprehended, cast into prison, and sentence of death to be passed upon him. As he was led forth to the place of martyrdom,³ the soldier or officer that had guarded him to the tribunal, or rather his accuser, (and so Suidas⁴ expressly tells us it was,) having been con-

¹ Vid. Epist. ejus ad Caium Imp. ap. Phil. de Legat. ad Caium, p. 1031, et seq.

² Joseph. Antiquit. Jud. lib. xix. c. 7, p 677.

³ Clem. Alex. Hypotyp. lib. vii. apud Euseb. lib ii. c. 9 p. 46.

⁴ Suid. in voc. Ήρώδης.

vinced by that mighty courage and constancy which St. James showed at the time of his trial, repented of what he had done, came and fell down at the apostle's feet, and heartily begged pardon for what he said against him. The holy man, after a little surprise at the thing, raised him up, embraced and kissed him. ‘Peace,’ (said he,) ‘my son, peace be to thee, and the pardon of thy faults.’ Whereupon, before them all he publicly professed himself to be a Christian, and so both were beheaded at the same time. Thus fell St. James, the apostolic proto-martyr, the first of that number that gained the crown, cheerfully taking that cup of which he had long since told his Lord he was most ready to drink.

9. But the divine vengeance, that never sleeps, suffered not the death of this innocent and righteous man to pass long unrevenged; of which, though St. Luke gives us but a short account, yet Josephus,¹ who might himself remember it, being a youth at that time of seven or eight years of age, sets down the story with its particular circumstances, agreeing almost exactly with the sacred historian. Shortly after St. James’s martyrdom, Herod removed to Cæsarea, being resolved to make war upon the neighbouring Tyrians and Sidonians: while he was here, he proclaimed solemn sights and festival entertainments to be held in honour of Cæsar, to which there flocked a great confluence of all the nobility thereabouts. Early in the morning, on the second day, he came with great state into the theatre, to make an oration to the people, being clothed in a robe all over, curi-

¹ Antiquit. Jud. lib. xix. c. 7, p. 679.

ously wrought with silver, which encountering with the beams of the rising sun, reflected such a lustre upon the eyes of the people (who make sensible appearances the only true measures of greatness) as begot an equal wonder and veneration in them, crying out (prompted no doubt by flatterers, who began the cry) that it was some deity which they beheld, and that he who spake to them must be something above the ordinary standard of humanity. This impious applause Herod received without any token of dislike, or sense of that injury that was hereby done to the Supreme Being of the world. But a sudden accident changed the scene, and turned the comic part into a black fatal tragedy. Looking up, he espied an owl sitting upon a rope over his head, (as probably also he did an angel, for so St. Luke mentions it,) which he presently beheld as the fatal messenger of his death, as heretofore it had been of his prosperity and success.¹ An incurable melancholy immediately seized upon his mind, as exquisite torments did upon his bowels, caused, without question, by those worms St. Luke speaks of, which immediately fed and preyed upon him. ‘Behold,’ said he, turning to those about him, ‘the deity you admired, and yourselves evidently convinced of flattery and falsehood; see me here, by the laws of fate condemned to die, whom just now ye styled immortal.’² Being removed into the palace, his

¹ “Hunc Josephi locum laudans Eusebius, totam bubonis mentionem prætermittit, ejusque loco ἄγγελον substituit: mente quidem piâ, at malâ fide.”

² ‘Ο θεὸς ἡμῖν ἐγὼ ἥδη κατασφέψειν ἐπιτάπτομαι τὸν βίον. παρὰ χρῆμα τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰς ἄρτι μὲν κατεψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχόσης, ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἥδη θανῶν ἀπάγομαι.—Joseph. ib.

pains still increased upon him ; and though the people mourned and wept, fasted and prayed for his life and health, yet his acute torments got the upper hand, and after five days put a period to his life. But to return to St. James.

10. Being put to death, his body is said to have taken a second voyage into Spain, where we are with confidence enough told it rests at this day. Indeed I met with a very formal account of its translation thither, written (says the publisher) above six hundred years since, by a monk of the abbey of La Fleury, in France :¹ the sum whereof is this : the apostles at Jerusalem designing Ctesiphon for Spain, ordained him bishop, and others being joined to his assistance, they took the body of St. James, and went on board a ship, without oars, without a pilot, or any to steer and conduct their voyage, trusting only to the merits of that apostle, whose remains they carried along with them. In seven days they arrived at a port in Spain, where landing, the corpse was suddenly taken from them, and, with great appearances of an extraordinary light from heaven, conveyed they knew not whither, to the place of its interment. The men, you may imagine, were exceedingly troubled, that so great a treasure should be ravished from them ; but upon their prayers and tears, they were conducted by an angel to the place where the apostle was buried, twelve miles from the sea. Here they addressed themselves to a rich noble matron, called Luparia, who had a great estate in those parts, but was a severe idolatress, begging of her

¹ Comment. de Translat. S. Jacob. Apost. ap. Joan. à Bosc. Biblioth. Floriac. Part. ii. p. 183, &c.

that they might have leave to entomb the bones of the holy apostle within her jurisdiction. She entertained them with contempt and scorn, with curses and execrations, bidding them go and ask leave of the king of the country. They did so, but were by him treated with all the instances of rage and fury, and pursued by him, till himself perished in the attempt. They returned back to their Gallican matron, whom, by many miracles, and especially by destroying a dragon that miserably infested those parts, they at last made convert to the faith. She thereupon commanded her images to be broken, the altars to be demolished, and her own idol-temple, being cleansed and purged, to be dedicated to the honour of St. James, by which means Christianity mightily prevailed, and triumphed over idolatry in all those countries. This is the sum of the account, call it romance or history, which I do not desire to impose any further upon the reader's faith than he shall find himself disposed to believe it. I add no more, than that his body was afterwards translated from Iria Flavia (the place of its first repose) to Compostella: though a learned person will have it to have been but one and the same place, and that after the story of St. James had gotten some footing in the belief of men, it began to be called ad Jacobum Apostolum, thence in after-times Giacomo Postolo, which was at last jumbled into Compostella;¹ where it were to tire both the reader and myself, to tell him with what solemn veneration, and incredible miracles reported to be done here, this apostle's relics are worshipped at this day: whence

¹ Is. Voss. Observat. in Pomp. Mel. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 231.

Baronius calls it the great store-house of miracles lying open to the whole world, and wisely confesses it one of the best arguments to prove that his body was translated thither.¹ And I should not scruple to be of his mind, could I be assured that such miracles were truly done there.

¹ Ad Ann. 816, Num. 72.

ST. JOHN.

ST. JOHN was a Galilean, the son of Zebedee and Salome, younger brother to St. James, together with whom he was brought up in the trade of fishing. St. Jerome¹ makes him remarkable upon the account of his nobility, whereby he became acquainted with the high-priest, and resolutely ventured himself amongst the Jews at our Saviour's trial, prevailed to introduce Peter into the hall, was the only apostle that attended our Lord at his crucifixion, and afterwards durst own his mother, and keep her at his own house. But the nobility of his family, and especially that it should be such as to procure him so much respect from persons of the highest rank and quality, seems not reconcilable with the meanness of his father's trade, and the privacy of his fortunes. And for his acquaintance with the high-priest, I should rather put it upon

¹ "Propter generis nobilitatem notus erat pontifici, et Judæorum insidias non timebat, in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in Atrium, et staret solus apostolorum ante crucem, matremque salvatoris in sua reciperet."—Hieron. Epitaph. Marcel. p. 119, tom. i.

some other account, especially if it be true what Nicephorus relates, that he had lately sold his estate, left by his father in Galilee, to Annas the high-priest, and had therewith purchased a fair house at Jerusalem, about mount Sion, whence he became acquainted with him.¹ Before his coming to Christ, he seems for some time to have been disciple to John the Baptist, being probably that other disciple that was with Andrew, when they left the Baptist to follow our Saviour, so particularly does he relate all circumstances of that transaction, though modestly, as in other parts of his gospel, concealing his own name. He was at the same time with his brother called by our Lord both to the discipleship and apostolate; by far the youngest of all the apostles, as the ancients generally affirm, and his great age seems to evince, living near seventy years after our Saviour's suffering.

2. There is not much said concerning him in the sacred story, more than what is recorded of him in conjunction with his brother James, which we have already remarked in his life. He was peculiarly dear to his Lord and master, being 'the disciple whom Jesus loved; that is, treated with more freedom and familiarity than the rest. And indeed he was not only one of the three whom our Saviour made partakers of the private passages of his life, but had some instances of a more particular kindness and favour conferred upon him. Witness his lying in our Saviour's bosom at the paschal supper; it being the custom of those times to lie along at meals upon couches, so that the second lay with

¹ H. Eccl. lib. i c. 28, p. 104, vid, lib. ii. c. 3, p. 135, ubi hæreditatem hanc Caiphæ venditam fuisse dicit

his head in the bosom of him that was before him ; this honourable place was not given to any of the aged, but reserved for our apostle : nay, when Peter was desirous to know which of them our Saviour meant, when he told them that one of them should betray him, and durst not himself propound the question, he made use of St. John (whose familiarity with him might best warrant such an inquiry) to ask our Lord ; who thereupon made them understand, it was Judas whom he designed by the traitor. This favour our apostle endeavoured in some measure to answer by returns of particular kindness and constancy to our Saviour, staying with him when the rest deserted him. Indeed upon our Lord's first apprehension he fled after the other apostles, it not being without some probabilities of reason, that the ancients conceive him to have been that 'young man' that followed after Christ, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body ; whom when the officers laid hold upon, he left the linen cloth, and fled naked from them.¹ This in all likelihood was that garment that he had cast about him at supper (for they had peculiar vestments for that purpose,) and being extremely affected with the treason, and our Lord's approaching passion, had forgot to put on his other garments, but followed him into the garden in the same habit wherewith he arose from the table ; it being then night, and so less liable to be taken notice of either by himself or others. But though he fled at present, to avoid that sudden violence that was offered to him, yet he soon recovered himself, and returned back to seek his master, confidently

¹ Mark xiv. 51.

entered into the high-priest's hall, and followed our Lord through the several passages of his trial, and at last waited upon him (and for any thing we know, was the only apostle that did so) at his execution, owning him, as well as being owned by him, in the midst of arms and guards, and in the thickest crowds of his most inveterate enemies. Here it was that our Lord, by his last will and testament made upon the cross, appointed him guardian of his own mother, the blessed virgin : ' When he saw his mother, and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he said unto his mother, woman, behold thy son ;' see, here is one that shall supply my place, and be to thee instead of a son, to love and honour thee, to provide and take care for thee : ' and to the disciple he said, behold thy mother ;' she whom thou shalt henceforth deal with, treat and observe with that duty and honourable regard, which the relation of an indulgent mother challenges from a pious and obedient son : whereupon ' he took her into his own house,' her husband, Joseph, being some time since dead, and made her a principal part of his charge and care. And certainly the holy Jesus could not have given a more honourable testimony of his particular respect and kindness to St. John, than to commit his own mother, whom of all earthly relations he held most dear and valuable, to his trust and care, and to substitute him to supply that duty which he himself paid her while he was here below.

3. At the first news of our Lord's return from the dead, he, accompanied with Peter, presently hastened to the sepulchre. Indeed, there seems to have been

a mutual intimacy between these two apostles more than the rest. It was to Peter that St. John gave the notice of Christ's appearing, when he came to them at the sea of Tiberias in the habit of a stranger; and it was for John that Peter was so solicitously inquisitive to know what should become of him. After Christ's ascension, we find these two going up to the temple at the hour of prayer, and miraculously healing the poor impotent cripple; both preaching to the people, and both apprehended together by the priests and Sadducees, and thrown into prison, and the next day brought forth to plead their cause before the Sanhedrim. These were the two chosen by the apostles to send down to Samaria, to settle and confirm the plantations which Philip had made in those parts, where they confounded and baffled Simon the magician, and set him in a hopeful way to repentance. To these St. Paul addressed himself, as those that seemed to be pillars among the rest, who accordingly 'gave him the right-hand of fellowship;' and confirmed his mission to the Gentiles.

4. In the division of provinces which the apostles made among themselves, Asia fell to his share;¹ though he did not presently enter upon his charge, otherwise we must needs have heard of him in the account which St. Luke gives of St. Paul's several journeys into and residence in those parts. Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt still in his own house at Jerusalem, at least till the death of the blessed virgin, (and this is plainly asserted by Nicephorus² from the account of those historians

¹ Euseb. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 71.

² H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 42, p. 206.

that were before him,) whose death, says Eusebius,¹ happened anno Christi 48, about fifteen years after our Lord's ascension. Some time (probably years) after her death, he took his journey into Asia, and industriously applied himself to the propagating Christianity, preaching where the gospel had not yet been made known, and confirming it where it was already planted. Many churches of note and eminency were of his foundation, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and others; but his chief place of residence was at Ephesus, where St. Paul had many years before settled a church, and constituted Timothy bishop of it. Nor can we suppose that he confined his ministry merely in Asia Minor, but that he preached in other parts of the East; probably in Parthia, his first epistle being anciently intitled to them; and the Jesuits,² in the relation of their success in those parts, assure us that the Bassoræ (a people of India) constantly affirm, from a tradition received from their ancestors, that St. John planted the Christian faith there.

5. Having spent many years in this employment, he was at length accused to Domitian, who had begun a persecution against the Christians, as an eminent assertor of atheism and impiety, and a public subverter of the religion of the empire. By his command the proconsul of Asia sent him bound to Rome,³ where his treatment was what might be expected from so bloody and barbarous a prince; he was cast into a caldron of boiling oil, or rather

¹ In Chron. ap. Bar. ad An. 48.

² Litter. Jesuit. Ann. 1555.

³ "Percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ apostolorum, &c. habes Romam, &c. ubi apostolus

oil set on fire. But that Divine Providence which secured the three Hebrew captives in the flames of a burning furnace, brought this holy man safe out of this, one would have thought, unavoidable destruction. An instance of so signal preservation as had been enough to persuade a considering man that there must be a divinity in that religion that had such mighty and solemn attestations. But miracles themselves will not convince him that is fallen under a hard heart, and an injudicious mind. The cruel emperor was not satisfied with this, but presently orders him to be banished and transported into an island. This was accounted a kind of capital punishment, ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον ἔξορία παρὰ Ρωμαίους κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ἐμιμεῖτο, says Pachymer,¹ speaking of this very instance, where κεφαλικὴ τιμωρία is not to be understood as extending to life, but loss of privilege. Therefore this punishment in the Roman laws,² is called *capitis diminutio*, (and it was the second sort of it,) because the person thus banished was disfranchised, and the city thereby lost a head. It succeeded in the room of that ancient punishment, *aqua et igni interdicere*, to interdict a person the use of fire and water, the two great and necessary conveniences of man's life, whereby was tacitly implied, that he must, for his own defence, betake himself into banishment; it being unlawful for any to accommodate him with lodging or diet, or anything necessary to

Joannes posteaquam in Oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur."—Tertull. de præscript. Hæret. c. 36, p. 215.

¹ Παριφρ. εἰς τὴν Επιτ. i. τὸ "Αγ. Διονυσ. p. 444.

² Instit. lib. i. Tit. 16, sect. 2, lib. ii. et iv. ff. de Pœn. lib. xlviij. Tit. 19, L 3, ad Leg. Jul. Pecul. ib. Tit. 13, vid. L. 6 et 7, de Interd. et Rel. ib. Tit. 22.

the support of life. This banishing into islands was properly called *deportatio*, and was the worst and severest kind of exile, whereby the criminal forfeited his estate, and being bound and put on shipboard, was by public officers transported into some certain island, (which none but the emperor himself might assign,) there to be confined to perpetual banishment. The place of our St. John's banishment was not Ephesus, as Chrysostom by a great mistake makes it,¹ but Patmos, a disconsolate island in the Archipelago, where he remained several years, instructing the inhabitants in the faith of Christ : here it was, about the latter end of Domitian's reign, (as Irenæus tells us,²) that he wrote his Apocalypse, or book of Revelations; wherein, by frequent visions and prophetical representments, he had a clear scheme and prospect of the state and condition of Christianity in the future periods and ages of the church. Which certainly was not the least instance of that kindness and favour which our Lord particularly showed to this apostle ; and it seemed very suitable at this time, that the goodness of God should overpower the malice of men, and that he should be entertained with the more immediate converses of heaven, who was now cut off from all ordinary conversation and society with men. In a monastery of Caloires, or Greek monks, in this island, they show a dead man's hand at this day,³ the nails of whose fingers grow again as often as they are pared ; which the Turks will have to be one of their prophets, while the Greeks constantly affirm it to have been the hand of St. John, where-

¹ Argum. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 1032.

² Adv. Hæres. lib. v. c. 30, p. 485.

³ Bellon. Observ. lib. ii. c. 11, p. 205.

with he wrote the Revelations ; and, probably, both true alike.

6. Domitian, whose prodigious wickedness had rendered him infamous and burthensome to the world, being taken out of the way, Cocceius Nerva succeeded in the empire, a prudent man, and of a milder and more sober temper. He rescinded the odious acts of his predecessors; and by public edict recalled those from banishment whom the fury of Domitian had sent thither.¹ St. John taking the advantage of this general indulgence, left Patmos, and returned into Asia, his ancient charge; but chiefly fixed his seat at Ephesus, the care and presidency whereof (Timothy their bishop having been lately martyred by the people, for persuading them against their heathen feasts and sports, especially one called *Kataγώγιον*, wherein was a mixture of debauchery and idolatry²) he took upon him; and by the assistance of seven bishops, governed that large spacious diocese. Nicephorus adds,³ that he not only managed the affairs of the church, ordered and disposed the clergy, but erected churches, which surely must be meant of oratories, and little places for their solemn conventions, building churches in the modern notion, not being consistent with the poverty and persecution of Christians in those early times. Here, at the request of the bishops of Asia, he wrote his gospel, (they are authors of no credit and value that make it written during his confinement in the isle of Patmos,) with very solemn preparation, whereof more when we

¹ Oros. lib. vii. c. 11, p. 303, fac. 2.

² Martyr. Timoth. apud Phot. Cod. 254, Col. 1401, 1404.

³ Lib. ii. c. 42, p. 206.

come to consider the writings which he left behind him.

7. He lived till the time of Trajan, about the beginning of whose reign he departed this life, very aged, about the ninety-eighth or ninety-ninth year of his life, as is generally thought. Chrysostom¹ is very positive, that he was a hundred years old when he wrote his gospel, and that he lived full twenty years after; the same is affirmed by Dorotheus,² that he lived one hundred and twenty years; which to me seems altogether improbable, seeing by this account he must be fifty years of age when called to be an apostle, a thing directly contrary to the whole consent and testimony of antiquity, which makes him very young at the time of his calling to the apostolic office. He died (says the Arabian³) ‘in the expectation of his blessedness,’ by which he means his quiet and peaceable departure, in opposition to a violent and bloody death. Indeed Theophylact, and others before him, conceive him to have died a martyr, upon no other ground than what our Saviour told him and his brother, that they should drink of the cup, and be baptized with the baptism wherewith he was baptized, which Chrysostom⁴ strictly understands of martyrdom and a bloody death. It was, indeed, literally verified of his brother James; and for him, though, as St. Jerome observes,⁵ he was not put to

¹ Καταλαμβάνει την "Εφεσον, κάκεῖσε διατρίβων συντάττει το ἐναγγέλιον ὡν ἑπὼν ἑκατὸν, ἔιρκεσας ἕως ὅλων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν.—Chrysost. Serm. de S. Joan. Ap. p. 505. tom. vi.

² Synops. de Vit. et Mort. App. Bibl. tom. iii. p. 147.

³ Apud Kirsten. de Vit. Quat. Evang. p. 52.

⁴ Hom. 66, in Matth. c. 20, p. 575.

⁵ Comm. in Matth. 20, p. 59, tom. ix.

death, yet may he be truly styled a martyr; his being put into a vessel of boiling oil, his many years' banishment, and other sufferings in the cause of Christ, justly challenging that honourable title, though he did not actually lay down his life for the testimony of the gospel, it being not want of goodwill either in him or his enemies, but the Divine Providence immediately overruling the powers of nature, that kept the malice of his enemies from its full execution.

8. Others, on the contrary, are so far from admitting him to die a martyr, that they question, nay, peremptorily deny that he ever died at all. The first assertor, and that but obliquely, that I find of this opinion, was Hippolytus, bishop of Porto, and scholar to Clemens of Alexandria, who ranks him in the same capacity with Enoch and Elias; for speaking of the twofold coming of Christ, he tells us,¹ that his first coming in the flesh had John the Baptist for its forerunner, and his second to judgment shall have Enoch, Elias, and St. John.² Ephrem, patriarch of Antioch, is more express; he tells us, there are three persons answerable to the three dispensations of the world yet in the body, Enoch, Elias, and St. John; Enoch before the law, Elias under the law, and St. John under the gospel; concerning which last, that he never died, he confirms both from Scripture and tradition, and quotes St. Cyril (I suppose he means him of Alexandria) as of the same opinion. The whole foundation upon which this error is built, was that discourse that passed between our Lord and Peter

¹ De Consumm. Mund. et Antichr. in Auctar. Bibl. Pp. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 351.

² Apud Phod. Cod. ccxxix. Col. 797.

concerning this apostle; for Christ having told Peter what was to be his own fate, Peter inquires what should become of St. John, knowing him to be 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.'¹ Our Lord rebukes his curiosity, by asking him, what that concerned him, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' This the apostles misunderstood, and a report presently went out amongst them, 'that that disciple should not die;' though St. John, who himself records the passage, inserts a caution, 'that Jesus did not say, he should not die; but only, What if I will that he tarry till I come?' Which doubtless our Lord meant of his coming (so often mentioned in the New Testament) in judgment upon the Jews, at the final overthrow of Jerusalem, which St. John out-lived many years; and which our Lord particularly intended, when elsewhere he told them, 'Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom.'²

9. From the same original sprang the report, that he only lay sleeping in his grave. The story was current in St. Austine's days, from whom we receive this account, though possibly the reader will smile at the conceit. He tells us,³ it was commonly reported and believed that St. John was not dead; but that he rested like a man asleep in his grave at Ephesus, as plainly appeared from the dust sensibly boiling and bubbling up, which they accounted to be nothing else but the continual motion of his breath. This report St. Austine seems inclinable to believe, having received it, as he tells us, from

¹ John, xxi. 21, 22, 23.

² Matth. xvi. 28

³ Tract. 124, in Joan. Col. 569, tom. ix.

very credible hands. He further adds, out of some apocryphal writings, what was generally known and reported, that when St. John, then in health, had caused his grave to be dug and prepared, he laid himself down in it as in a bed, and as they thought, only fell asleep. Nicephorus relates the story more at large,¹ from whom (if it may be any pleasure to entertain the reader with these things) we shall give this account. St. John, foreseeing his translation into heaven, took the presbyters and ministers of the church of Ephesus, and several of the faithful, along with him out of the city, carried them unto a cemetery near at hand, whither he himself was wont to retire, and very earnestly recommended the state of the churches to God in prayer. Which being done, he commanded a grave to be immediately dug; and having instructed them in the more recondite mysteries of theology, the most excellent precepts of a good life, concerning faith, hope, and especially charity, confirmed them in the practice of religion, and commended them to the care and blessing of our Saviour, he solemnly took his leave of them, signed himself with the sign of the cross, and before them all went down into the grave; strictly charging them to put on the grave-stone, and to make it fast, and the next day to come and open it, and take a view of it. They did so; and having opened the sepulchre, found nothing there but the grave-clothes which he had left behind him. To all which let me add, while my hand is in these things, what Ephrem relates,² that from this grave, wherein he

¹ H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 42, p. 208.

² Apud Phot. ubi supr. p. 208.

rested so short a time, a kind of sacred oil or unguent was wont to be gathered. Gregory of Tours, says it was manna, which even in his time, like flour, was cast up from the sepulchre, and was carried up and down the world for the curing of diseases.¹ This report of our apostle's being yet alive, some men made use of to wild and fantastic purposes. Beza tells us of an impostor in his time, (whom Postellus, who vainly boasted that he had the soul of Adam, was wont to call his brother,) who publicly professed himself to be our St. John, and was afterwards burnt at Tholose in France.² Nor was this any more than what was done in the more early ages of Christianity. For Sulpitius Severus³ giving us an account of a young Spaniard that first professed himself to be Elias, and then Christ himself, adds, that there was one at the same time in the east, who gave out himself to be St. John. So fast will error, like circles in the water, multiply itself; and one mistaken place of Scripture gives countenance to a hundred stories, that shall be built upon it. I have no more to add, but what we meet with in the Arabic writer of his life,⁴ (though it little agrees with the preceding passages,) who reports, that there were none present at his burial but his disciple Phogsir, (probably Proghor, or Prochorus, one of the seven deacons, and generally said to have been St. John's companion and assistant,) whom he strictly charged never to discover his sepulchre to any; it may be for the same reason for which it is thought God concealed the body of

¹ De Glor. Martyr. lib. i. cap. 30, p. 36.

² Annot. in Joan. c. 21.

³ In Vit. Martin. c. 25, p. 213.

⁴ Apud Kirsten. de Vit. Quat. Evang. p. 52.

Moses, to prevent the idolatrous worshipping of his relics: and accordingly the Turks, who conceit that he is buried in the confines of Lydia, pay great honour and veneration to his tomb.

10. St. John seems always to have led a single life, and so the ancients tell us;¹ nay, St. Ambrose positively affirms, that all the apostles were married, except St. John and St. Paul.² There want not indeed some, and especially the middle writers of the church,³ who will have our apostle to have been married, and that it was his marriage which our Lord was at in Cana of Galilee, invited thither upon the account of his consanguinity and alliance: but that being convinced, by the miracle of the water turned into wine, he immediately quitted his conjugal relation, and became one of our Lord's disciples. But this, as Baronius himself confesses, is trifling, and the issue of fabulous invention, a thing wholly unknown to the fathers and best writers of the church, and which not only has no just authority to support it, but arguments enough to beat it down. As for his natural temper, he seems (as we have observed in his brother's life) to have been of a more eager and resolute disposition, easily apt to be inflamed and provoked, which his reduced age brought to a more staid and a calmer temper. He was polished by no study or arts of learning; but what was wanting in that was abundantly made up in the excellent temper and constitution of his mind, and that furniture of

¹ Epiph. Hæres. 78, p. 440; Hieron. adv. Jovin. lib. i. p. 35, tom. ii.

² Ambr. Comm. in 2 Cor. 11. tom. v.

³ Bed. Praef. in Joan. Rupert. Tuit. Comm. in Joan. lib. ii. in fin. Cyr. in Joan. cap. 2, et alii.

divine graces, which he was adorned withal. His humility was admirable, studiously concealing his own worth and honour; in all his epistles (as Eusebius long since observed¹) he never puts down the honourable titles of apostle or evangelist, but only styles himself, and that too but sometimes, presbyter, or elder, alluding probably to his age, as much as office; in his gospel, when he speaks of ‘the disciple whom Jesus loved,’ he constantly conceals his own name, leaving the reader to conjecture who was meant. Love and charity he practised himself and affectionately pressed upon others; our Lord’s great love to him seems to have inspired his soul with a bigger and more generous charity than the rest: it is the great vein that runs through his writings, and especially his epistles, where he urges it as the great and peculiar law of Christianity, and without which all other pretences to Christian religion are vain and frivolous, useless and insignificant. And this was his constant practice to his dying day. When age and weakness grew upon him at Ephesus, that he was no longer able to preach to them, he used, at every public meeting, to be led to the church, and say no more to them than, ‘Little children, love one another.’² And when his auditors, wearied with the constant repetition of the same thing, asked him why he always spoke the same, he answered, because it was the command of our Lord, and that if they did nothing else, this alone was enough.

11. But the largest measures of his charity he expressed in the mighty care that he showed to the

¹ Demonstr. Evangel. lib. iii. p. 120.

² Hieron. Comm. in c. 6, ad Galat. tom. ix. p. 200.

souls of men, unweariedly spending himself in the service of the gospel; travelling from east to west to leaven the world with the principles of that holy religion which he was sent to propagate, patiently enduring all torments, breaking through all difficulties and discouragements, shunning no dangers, that he might do good to souls, redeem men's minds from error and idolatry, and reduce them from the snares of a debauched and a vicious life. Witness one famous instance.¹ In his visitation of the churches near to Ephesus, he made choice of a young man, whom with a special charge for his instruction and education, he committed to the bishop of that place. The spiritual man undertook the charge, instructed his pupil, and baptized him: and then thinking he might a little remit the reins of discipline, the youth made an ill use of his liberty, and was quickly debauched by bad companions, making himself captain to a company of highwaymen, the most loose, cruel, and profigate wretches of the country. St. John, at his return, understanding this, and sharply reproving the negligence and unfaithfulness of his tutor, resolved to find him out: and without any consideration of what danger he entered upon, in venturing himself upon persons of desperate fortunes and forfeited consciences, he went to the mountains where their usual haunt was; and being here taken by the sentinel, he desired to be brought before their commander, who no sooner espied him coming towards him, but he immediately fled. The aged apostle followed after, but not able to overtake him, passionately entreated him to stay, promising

¹ Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 23, p. 92.

him to undertake with God for his peace and pardon. He did so, and both melted into tears; and the apostle having prayed with and for him, returned him, a true penitent and convert, to the church.¹ This story we have elsewhere related more at large out of Eusebius, as he does from Clemens Alexandrinus, since which that tract itself of Clemens is made public to the world.²

12. Nor was it the least instance of his care of the church, and charity to the souls of men, that he was so infinitely vigilant against heretics and seducers, countermining their artifices, antidoting against the poison of their errors, and shunning all communion and conversation with their persons. Going along with some of his friends at Ephesus to the bath,³ (whither he used frequently to resort, and the ruins whereof, of porphyry, not far from the place where stood the famous temple of Diana, as a late eye-witness informs us,⁴ are still showed at this day,) he inquired of the servant that waited there, who was within; the servant told him, Cerinthus; (Epiphanius says it was Ebion, and it is not improbable that they might be both there;) which the apostle no sooner understood, but in great abhorrency he turned back: "Let us be gone, my brethren, (said he,) and make haste from this place lest the bath wherein there is such a heretic as Cerinthus, the great enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads." This account Irenæus delivers from

¹ Prim. Christ. part iii. ch. 2, p. 318.

² Orat. περὶ τὴς τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλέστιος. in Auctuar. Bibliothe. Pp. Gr. L. à Fr. Combef. edit. an. 1672, Part i. p. 185, n. 42.

³ Iren. adv. Hæres lib. iii. c. 3, p. 233; Euseb. lib. iii. c. 28, p. 100; Epiph. Hæres. 30, p. 69.

⁴ Th. Smith. Epist de VII. Asiæ Eccles. p. 159.

Polycarp, St. John's own scholar and disciple. This Cerinthus was a man of loose and pernicious principles, endeavouring to corrupt Christianity with many damnable errors.¹ To make himself more considerable, he struck in with the Jewish converts, and made a bustle in that great controversy at Jerusalem, about circumcision and the observation of the law of Moses. But his usual haunt was Asia; where, amongst other things, he openly denied Christ's resurrection, affirmed the world to have been made by angels, broaching unheard of dogmata, and pretending them to have been communicated to him by angels; venting revelations composed by himself, as a great apostle, affirming that after the resurrection the reign of Christ would commence here upon earth, and that men, living again at Jerusalem, should, for the space of a thousand years, enjoy all manner of sensual pleasures and delights: hoping by this fools' paradise that he should tempt men of loose and brutish minds over to his party. Much of the same stamp was Ebion,² (though in some principles differing from him, as error agrees with itself as little as with truth,) who held that the holy Jesus was a mere and a mean man, begotten by Joseph of Mary his wife, and that the observance of the Mosaic rites and laws was necessary to salvation: and because they saw St. Paul stand so full in their way, they reproached him as an apostate from his religion, and rejected his epistles, owning none but St. Matthew's gospel in Hebrew, having little or no value for the rest; the sabbath and Jewish rites

¹ Epiphan. Hæres. 28, p. 53; Caius apud Euseb. lib. iii. c. 28, p. 100.

² Euseb. ib. p. 99.

they observed with the Jews; and on the Lord's day celebrated the memory of our Lord's resurrection, according to the custom and practice of the Christians.

13. Besides these, there was another sort of heretics that infested the church in St. John's time, the Nicolaitans, mentioned by him in his Revelation, and 'whose doctrine' our Lord is with a particular emphasis there said 'to hate;' indeed a most wretched and brutish sect, generally supposed to derive their original from Nicolas, one of the seven deacons whom we read of in the Acts, whereof Clemens of Alexandria gives this probable account.¹ This Nicolas having a beautiful wife, and being reproved by the apostles for being jealous of her, to show how far he was from it, brought her forth, and gave any that would, leave to marry her, affirming this to be suitable to that saying, *ὅτι παρὰ χρῆσθαι τὴν σαρκὶ δεῖ*, 'that we ought to abuse the flesh.' This speech, he tells us, was ascribed to St. Matthias, who taught, 'that we must fight with the flesh and abuse it,' and not allowing it anything for pleasure, increase the soul by faith and knowledge. These words and actions of his, his disciples and followers misunderstanding, and perverting things to the worst sense imaginable, began to let loose the reins, and henceforwards to give themselves over to the greatest filthiness, the most shameless and impudent uncleanness, throwing down all enclosures, making the most promiscuous mixtures lawful, and pleasure the ultimate end and happiness of man. Such were their principles, such their practices; whereas

¹ Rev. ii. 15.

² Stromat. lib. iii. p. 436; Euseb. lib. iii. c. 29, p. 101

Nicolas, their pretended patron and founder, was, says Clemens, a sober and a temperate man, never making use of any but his own wife, by whom he had one son, and several daughters, who all lived in perpetual virginity.

14. The last instance that we shall remark of our apostle's care for the good of the church, is the writings which he left to posterity; whereof the first in time, though placed last, is his Apocalypse, or book of Revelations, written while confined in Patmos. It was of old not only rejected by heretics, but controverted by many of the fathers themselves. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria,¹ has a very large discourse, concerning it; he tells us, that many plainly disowned this book, not only for the matter, but the author of it, as being neither apostle, nor any holy or ecclesiastical person; that Cerinthus prefixed St. John's name to it, to give the more plausible title to his dream of Christ's reign upon earth, and that sensual and carnal state that should attend it; that for his part he durst not reject it, looking upon it as containing wise and admirable mysteries, though he could not fathom and comprehend them; that he did not measure them by his own line, nor condemn, but rather admire what he could not understand; that he owned the author to have been a holy and divinely inspired person, but could not believe it to be St. John the apostle and evangelist, neither style, matter, nor method agreeing with his other writings; that in this he frequently names himself, which he never does in any other; that there were several Johns at that time, and two buried at Ephesus, the apos-

¹ Apud Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 25, p. 272, &c.

tle, and another, one of the disciples that dwelt in Asia, but which was the author of this book, he leaves uncertain. But though doubted of by some, it was entertained by the far greater part of the ancients as the genuine work of our St. John. Nor could the setting down his name be any reasonable exception ; for whatever he might do in his other writings, especially his gospel, where it was less necessary, historical matters depending not so much upon his authority, yet it was otherwise in prophetic revelations, where the person of the revealer adds great weight and moment ; the reason why some of the prophets under the Old Testament did so frequently set down their own names. The diversity of the style is of no considerable value in this case, it being no wonder, if in arguments so vastly different, the same person did not always observe the same tenor and way of writing ; whereof there want not instances in some others of the apostolic order. The truth is, all circumstances concur to entitle our apostle to be the author of it, his name frequently expressed, its being written in the island of Patmos, (a circumstance not pertaining to any but St. John,) his styling himself ‘their brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ,’ his writing particular epistles to the ‘seven churches of Asia,’ all planted or at least cultivated by him ; the doctrine in it suitable to the apostolic spirit and temper, evidently bearing witness in this case. That which seems to have given ground to doubt concerning both its author and authority, was its being a long time before it was universally joined with other books of the holy canon ; for containing in it some passages directly levelled at Rome, the seat

of the Roman empire, and others which might be thought to symbolize with some Jewish dreams and figments, it might possibly seem fit to the prudence of those times for a while to suppress it. Nor is the conjecture of a learned man to be despised, who thinks that it might be intrusted in the keeping of John the presbyter, scholar to our apostle; whence probably the report might arise, that he, who was only the keeper, was the author of it.¹ I add no more, than that upon the account of this Apocalypse, containing a prophetic scheme of the future state of the Christian church, he is in a strict sense a prophet, and has thereby one considerable addition to his titles, being not only an apostle and evangelist, but a prophet, an honour peculiar to himself. Peter was an apostle, but properly no evangelist: Mark an evangelist, but no apostle: St. Matthew an apostle and evangelist, but no prophet: but St. John was both an apostle, an evangelist, and a prophet.

15. His gospel succeeds, written (say some²) in Patmos, and published at Ephesus; but as Irenæus³ and others more truly, written by him after his return to Ephesus; composed at the earnest entreaty and solicitation of the Asian bishops and ambassadors from several churches; in order whereunto he first caused them to proclaim a general fast, to seek the blessing of heaven on so great and solemn an undertaking, which being done, he set about it. And if we may believe the report of Gregory, bishop of Tours, he tells us, that upon a hill, near

¹ Grot. Annot. in cap. i. Joan.

² Doroth. de vit. App. in B. Pp. tom. iii. p. 147.

³ Iren. adv. Haeres. lib. iii. c. 1; Hieron. præf. in Matth. tom. ix. et de Script. Eccl. in. Joan.

Ephesus, there was a proseucha, or uncovered oratory, whither our apostle used often to retire for prayer and contemplation, and where he obtained of God, that it might not rain in that place till he had finished his gospel.¹ Nay, he adds, that even in his time, no shower or storm ever came upon it. Two causes especially contributed to the writing of it; the one, that he might obviate the early heresies of those times, especially of Ebion, Cerinthus, and the rest of that crew, who began openly to deny Christ's divinity, and that he had any existence before his incarnation; the reason why our evangelist is so express and copious in that subject. The other was, that he might supply those passages of the evangelical history which the rest of the sacred writers had omitted.² Collecting, therefore, the other three evangelists, he first set to his seal, ratifying the truth of them with his approbation and consent; and then added his own gospel to the rest, principally insisting upon the acts of Christ from the first commencing of his ministry to the death of John the Baptist, wherein the others are most defective, giving scarce any account of the first year of our Saviour's ministry, which therefore he made up in very large and particular narrations. He largely records (as Nazianzen observes³) our Saviour's discourses; but takes little notice of his miracles, probably because so fully and particularly related by the rest. The subject of his writing is very sublime and mysterious, mainly designing

¹ De glor. Martyr. lib. i. cap. 30, p. 37.

² Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 24, p. 95.

³ Παῦρα δ' Ιωάννως δήεις ἱερῆς ἐνὶ βίβλῳ
Θαύματα δη, πολλάκις δὲ λίγες Χριστοῖο ἀνακτος.

to prove Christ's divinity, eternal pre-existence, creating of the world, &c. Upon which account Theodoret styles his gospel Θεολογίαν ἀξιῶν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀνυπέρβατον, a theology which human understandings can never fully penetrate and find out.¹ Thence, generally by the ancients, he is resembled to an eagle,² soaring aloft within the clouds, whither the weak eye of man was unable to follow him; hence, peculiarly honoured with the title of the Divine, as if due to none but him, at least to him in a more eminent and extraordinary manner. Nay, the very Gentile philosophers themselves could not but admire his writings: witness Amelius, the famous Platonist and regent of Porphyry's school at Alexandria;³ who, quoting a passage out of the beginning of St. John's gospel, swore by Jupiter, that this barbarian (so the proud Greeks counted and called all that differed from them,) "had hit upon the right notion, when he affirmed, that the Word that made all things was in the beginning, and in place of prime dignity

¹ Comm. in Ezek. c. 47.

² "Nemo, audeo dicere, tanta sublimitate sapientiae majestatem dei vidit, et nobis proprio sermone reseravit. Transcendit nubes, transcendit virtutes cælorum, transcendit angelos, et verbum in principio reperit, et apud deum vidit."—Ambr. præf. Comm. in Luc. tom. v. p. 5.

³ Καὶ ἐτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καθ' ὃν ἀεὶ ὅντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἀνὴρ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἀξιώσεις, καὶ νῦν Δι' ὃν ὁ βάρχαρος ἀξιῖ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ καθετηκότα πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι δι' ἓπαντα ἀπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι ἐν φύσει τὸ γινόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ζωὴν, καὶ ὃν πεφυκέναι καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνένταμενον, φαντάζεσθαι ἀνθρωπον, μετὰ τοῦ τηλικαῦτα διεκνύειν τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποθεᾶσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν καταχθῆναι.—Amel. apud Euseb. præparat Evang. lib. xi. p. 540; vid Theod. de Cur. Græc. Affect. Serm. ii. p. 33.

and authority with God; and was that God that created all things, in whom every thing that was made had, according to its nature, its life and being; that he was incarnate, and clothed with a body wherein he manifested the glory and magnificence of his nature; that after his death he returned to the repossession of divinity, and became the same God which he was before his assuming a body, and taking the human nature and flesh upon him." I have no more to observe, but that his gospel was afterwards translated into Hebrew,¹ and kept by the Jews ἐν ἀποκρύφοις, among their secret archives and records in their treasury at Tiberias; where a copy of it was found by one Joseph a Jew, afterwards converted, and whom Constantine the Great advanced to the honour of a count of the empire,² who breaking open the treasury, though he missed of money, found βιβλία τὰς ὑπὲρ χρήματα, books beyond all treasure, St. Matthew and St. John's gospels and the acts of the apostles in Hebrew; the reading whereof greatly contributed towards his conversion.

16. Besides these, our apostle wrote three epistles; the first whereof is catholic, calculated for all times and places, containing most excellent rules for the conduct of the Christian life, pressing to holiness and purity of manners, and not to rest in a naked and empty profession of religion; not to be led away with the crafty insinuations of seducers; antidoting men against the poison of the Gnostic principles and practices, to whom it is not to be doubted but that the apostle had a more particular respect

¹ Epiph. adv. Ebion. Hæres. xxx. p. 60.

² Ibid. p. 61.

in this epistle. According to his wonted modesty he conceals his name, it being of more concernment with wise men, what it is that is said, than who it is that says it. And this epistle Eusebius tells us¹ was universally received, and never questioned by any; anciently, as appears by St. Augustine,² inscribed to the Parthians, though for what reason I am to learn, unless (as we hinted before) it was, because he himself had heretofore preached in those parts of the world. The other two epistles are but short, and directed to particular persons; the one a lady of honourable quality, the other the charitable and hospitable Gaius, so kind a friend, so courteous an entertainer of all indigent Christians. These epistles, indeed, were not of old admitted into the canon,³ nor are owned by the church in Syria at this day; ascribed by many to the younger John, disciple to our apostle. But there is no just cause to question who was their father, seeing both the doctrine, phrase, and design of them do sufficiently challenge our apostle for their author. These are all the books wherein it pleased the Holy Spirit to make use of St. John for its penman and secretary; in the composure whereof, though his style and character be not florid and elegant, yet is it grave and simple, short and perspicuous. Dionysius of Alexandria tells us, that in his gospel and first epistle his phrase is more neat and elegant, there being an accuracy in the contexture both of words and matter, that runs through all the reasonings of his discourses; but

¹ Lib. vii. c. 25, p. 276.

² Quæst. Evang. lib. ii. c. 39, Col. 353, vid. Possid. Indic. Oper. August.

³ Euseb. ut supr. et c. 26; Hieron. de script. Eccl. in Joan.

that in the Apocalypse, the style is nothing so pure and clear, being frequently mixed with more barbarous and improper phrases. Indeed his Greek generally abounds with Syriasm; his discourses many times abrupt, set off with frequent antitheses, connected with copulatives, passages often repeated, things at first more obscurely propounded, and which he is forced to enlighten with subsequent explications, words peculiar to himself, and phrases used in an uncommon sense. All which concur to render his way of writing less grateful, possibly, to the masters of eloquence, and an elaborate curiosity. St. Jerome observes,¹ that in citing places out of the Old Testament, he more immediately translates from the Hebrew original, studying to render things word for word; for being an Hebrew of the Hebrews, admirably skilled in the language of his country, it probably made him less exact in his Greek compositions, wherein he had very little advantage, besides what was immediately communicated from above. But whatever was wanting in the politeness of his style, as abundantly made up in the zeal of his temper, and the excellency and sublimity of his matter; he truly answered his name, Boanerges, for he spake and wrote like a ‘son of thunder.’ Whence it is that his writings, but especially his gospel, have such great and honourable things spoken of them by the ancients. “The evangelical writings” (says St. Basil²) “transcend the other parts of the holy volumes; in other parts God speaks to us by servants, the prophets; but in the gospels our Lord himself speaks to us, *ἀυτοῦ*

¹ Comm. in cap. 12, Zachar. p. 178, tom. vi.

² Homil. 16, p. 502, tom. i.

γε μὲν τοῦ ἐναγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος ὁ μεγαλοφωνότατος, καὶ πάσης μὲν ἀκοῆς μεῖζου, πάσης δὲ διάνοιας ὑψελότερα φθεγξάμενος, Ἰωάννης ἐπὶν ὁ νιὸς τῆς βροντῆς; “but among all the evangelical preachers, none like St. John, the son of thunder, for the sublimeness of his speech and the height of his discourses, beyond any man's capacity duly to reach and comprehend.” “St. John, as a true son of thunder,” (says Epiphanius,¹) ‘τῇ οἰκείᾳ μεγαλοφωνίᾳ ὥσπερ ἐκ τίνων νεφελῶν, τῶν δὲ σοφίας αἰνιγμάτων τὴν ἐνσεᾶν ἡμῖν ἔννοιαν τοῦ νιοῦ ἀνῆκεν,’ by a certain greatness of speech peculiar to himself, does, as it were, out of the clouds and the dark recesses of wisdom acquaint us with divine doctrines concerning the Son of God.” To which let me add what St. Cyril of Alexandria,² among other things, says concerning him, “that whoever looks, εἰς τε τὸ τῶν Θεωρημάτων ὑπερφερές, καὶ τῆς διάνοιας ἀντοῦ τὴν ὁξύτητα, καὶ τὴν συνεχῆ καὶ ἀλλεπάλληλον τῶν νοημάτων ἐπεισφορὰν, to the sublimity of his incomprehensible notions, the acumen and sharpness of his reason, and the quick inferences of his discourses constantly succeeding and following upon one another, must needs confess that his gospel perfectly exceeds all admiration.”

¹ Hæres. 73, adv. Semiar. p. 363.

² Comm. in Joan. p. 8.

3 The life and character of St. John can never be contemplated without deep interest by the thoughtful, meditative Christian. No result of historical inquiry can be more valuable than the development and representation of such a character to the spiritual understanding. Placed, in common with his associates, under circumstances the most remarkable, tried like them by temptations and sufferings the most affecting, he bore like them in meekness and patience the yoke and the burden which his Divine Master had allotted for his portion. But he is distinguished from among the rest by the sublime demonstrations of

spiritual power acting on the mind. It was to him the Lord committed the charge of revealing the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, where it stretches out and reaches unto the throne of the Father: and surely nothing can be more calculated to delight the mind of a thinking man, than the examination of the circumstances under which one so highly favoured, and so wonderfully acted upon and occupied, passed through the world.
—ED.

S T. PHILIP

OF all parts of Palestine, Galilee seems to have passed under the greatest character of ignominy and reproach. The country itself, because bordering upon the idolatrous uncircumcised nations, called Galilee of the Gentiles, the people generally beheld as more rude and boisterous, more unpolished and barbarous than the rest, not remarkable either for civility or religion. ‘The Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the feast, for they also went up unto the feast;’¹ as if it had been a wonder and a matter of very strange remark, to see so much devotion in them, as to attend the solemnity of the passover. Indeed both Jew and Gentile conspired in this, that they thought they could not fix a greater title of reproach upon our Saviour and his followers, than that of Galilean. ‘Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?’² a city in this province, said Nathanael, concerning Christ. ‘Search and look, (say the Pharisees,) for out of Galilee

¹ John, iv. 45.

² John, i. 46.

ariseth no prophet ;¹ as if nothing but briars and thorns could grow in that soil. But there needs no more to confute this ill-natured opinion, than that our Lord not only made choice of it as the seat of his ordinary residence and retreat, but that hence he chose those excellent persons, whom he made his apostles, the great instruments to convert the world. Some of these we have already given an account of, and more are yet behind.

2. Of this number was St. Philip, born at Bethsaida, a town near the sea of Tiberias, the city of Andrew and Peter. Of his parents and way of life the history of the gospel takes no notice; though probably he was a fisherman, the trade generally of that place. He had the *τὰ πρωτεῖα*, the honour of being first called to the discipleship, which thus came to pass. Our Lord, soon after his return from the wilderness, having met with Andrew and his brother Peter, after some short discourse parted from them :² and the very next day, as he was passing through Galilee, he found Philip, whom he presently commanded to follow him; the constant form which he used in making choice of his disciples, and those that did inseparably attend upon him. So that the *πρωτοκλησία*, or prerogative of being first called, evidently belongs to Philip, he being the first-fruits of our Lord's disciples. For though Andrew and Peter were the first that came to, and conversed with Christ, yet did they immediately return to their trade again, and were not called to the discipleship till above a whole year after, when John was cast into prison. Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that it was Philip,

¹ John, vii. 52.

² John, i. 44.

to whom our Lord said, (when he would have excused himself at present, that he must go bury his father,) ‘Let the dead bury their dead, but follow thou me.’¹ But besides that he gives no account whence he derived this intelligence, it is plainly inconsistent with the time of our apostle’s call, who was called to be a disciple a long time before that speech and passage of our Saviour. It may seem justly strange that Philip should at first sight so readily comply with our Lord’s command, and turn himself over into his service, having not yet seen any miracle that might evince his Messiahship, and divine commission, nor probably so much as heard any tidings of his appearance; and especially being a Galilean, and so of a more rustic and unyielding temper. But it cannot be doubted but that he was admirably versed in the writings of Moses and the prophets. Metaphrastes assures us (though how he came to know it otherwise than by conjecture I cannot imagine) that from his childhood he had excellent education, that he frequently read over Moses’s books, and considered the prophecies that related to our Saviour; and was, no question, awakened with the general expectations that were then on foot among the Jews, (the date of the prophetic Scriptures concerning the time of Christ’s coming being now run out,) that the Messiah would immediately appear.² Add to this, that the divine grace did more immediately accompany the command of Christ, to incline and dispose him to believe that this person was that very Messiah that was to come.

¹ Stromat. lib. iii. p. 436.

² Apud Sur. ad diem 1 Maii, tom. iv.

3. No sooner had religion taken possession of his mind, but like an active principle it began to ferment and diffuse itself. Away he goes, and finds Nathanael, a person of note and eminency, acquaints him with the tidings of the new-found Messiah, and conducts him to him. So forward is a good man to draw and direct others in the same way to happiness with himself. After his call to the apostleship much is not recorded of him in the holy story. It was to him that our Saviour propounded the question, what they should do for so much bread in the wilderness as would feed so vast a multitude;¹ to which he answered, that so much was not easily to be had; not considering, that to feed two or twenty thousand are equally easy to Almighty power, when pleased to exert itself. It was to him that the Gentile proselytes that came up to the passover addressed themselves, when desirous to see our Saviour, a person of whom they had heard so loud a fame.² It was with him that our Lord had that discourse concerning himself a little before the last paschal supper. The holy and compassionate Jesus had been fortifying their minds with fit considerations against his departure from them; had told them, that he was going to prepare room for them in the mansion of the blessed; that he himself was ‘the way, the truth, and the life, and that no man could come to the Father but by him,’³ and that knowing him, ‘they both knew and had seen the Father.’ Philip, not duly understanding the force of our Saviour’s reasonings, begged of him that he would ‘show them

¹ John, vi. 5.

² John, xii. 22

³ John, xiv. 8.

the Father, and then this would abundantly convince and satisfy them. We can hardly suppose he should have such gross conceptions of the Deity, as to imagine the Father vested with a corporeal and visible nature; but Christ having told them that they had seen him, and he knowing that God of old was wont frequently to appear in a visible shape, he only desired that he would manifest himself to them by some such appearance. Our Lord gently reproved his ignorance, that after so long attendance upon his instructions, he should not know that he was the image of his Father, the express characters of his infinite wisdom, power, and goodness appearing in him; that he said and did nothing but by his Father's appointment, which if they did not believe, his miracles were a sufficient evidence: that therefore such demands were unnecessary and impertinent; and that it argued great weakness, after more than three years' education under his discipline and institution, to be so unskilful in those matters. God expects improvement according to men's opportunities; to be old and ignorant in the school of Christ, deserves both reproach and punishment; it is the character of very bad persons, that 'they are ever learning, but never come to the knowledge of the truth.'¹

4. In the distribution of the several regions of the world made by the apostles, though no mention be made by Origen or Eusebius what part fell to our apostle, yet we are told by others,² that the Upper Asia was his province, (the reason doubtless why he is said, by many, to have preached and

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 7.

² S. Metaphr. Comm. de S. Philip. apud. Sur. ad 1 Maii, Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 39, p. 200.

planted Christianity in Scythia,) where he applied himself, with an indefatigable diligence and industry, to recover men out of the snare of the devil, to the embracing and acknowledgment of the truth. By the constancy of his preaching and the efficacy of his miracles, he gained numerous converts, whom he baptized into the Christian faith, at once curing both souls and bodies; their souls of error and idolatry, their bodies of infirmities and distempers; healing diseases, dispossessing demons, settling churches, and appointing them guides and ministers of religion.

Having for many years successfully managed his apostolical office in all those parts, he came, in the last periods of his life, to Hierapolis in Phrygia, a city rich and populous, but answering its name in its idolatrous devotions.¹ Amongst the many vain and trifling deities to whom they paid religious adoration, was a serpent, or dragon, (in memory no doubt of that infamous act of Jupiter, who in the shape of a dragon insinuated himself into the embraces of Proserpina, his own daughter, begot of Ceres, and whom these Phrygians chiefly worshipped, as Clemens Alexandrinus tells us;² so little reason had Baronius to say that they worshipped no such God,³) of a more prodigious bigness than the rest, which they worshipped with great and solemn veneration. St. Philip was troubled to see the people so wretchedly enslaved to error, and therefore continually solicited heaven, till by prayer and calling upon the name of Christ, he had procured the death, or at least vanishing of

¹ Metaphr. et Niceph. ibid. ³ Admonit. ad Gent.

² Ad. Ann. 54 n. 3.

this famed and beloved serpent: which done, he told them how unbecoming it was to give divine honours to such odious creatures; that God alone was to be worshipped, as the great parent of the world, who had made man at first after his own glorious image; and when fallen from that innocent and happy state, had sent his own Son into the world to redeem him, who died and rose from the dead, and shall come again at the last day, to raise men out of their graves, and to sentence and reward them according to their works. The success was, that the people were ashamed of their fond idolatry, and many broke loose from their chains of darkness, and ran over to Christianity. Whereupon the great enemy of mankind betook himself to his old methods, cruelty and persecution. The magistrates of the city seize the apostle, and having put him into prison, caused him to be severely whipped and scourged. This preparatory cruelty passed, he was led to execution, and being bound, was hanged up by the neck against a pillar; though others tell us that he was crucified. We are further told, that at his execution the earth began suddenly to quake, and the ground whereon the people stood, to sink under them; which, when they apprehended and bewailed as an evident act of divine vengeance pursuing them for their sins, it as suddenly stopped, and went no further. The apostle being dead, his body was taken down by St. Bartholomew, his fellow-sufferer, though not finally executed, and Mariamne, St. Philip's sister, who is said to have been the constant companion of his travels, and decently buried; after which having confirmed the people in the faith of Christ, they departed from them.

6. That St. Philip was married is generally affirmed by the ancients; Clemens of Alexandria reckons him one of the married apostles, and that he had daughters whom he disposed in marriage:¹ Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, tells us, that Philip, one of the twelve apostles, died at Hierapolis, with two of his daughters who persevered in their virginity, and that he had a third which died at Ephesus.² The truth is, the not careful distinguishing between Philip the deacon (who lived at Cæsarea, and of whose four virgin daughters we read in the history of the apostles' acts³) and our apostle, has bred some confusion among the ancients in this matter; nay, has made some conclude them to have been but one and the same person. But with how little reason, will appear to any one that shall consider, that Philip, who was chosen to be one of the seven deacons, could not be one of the apostolical college, the apostles declaring upon that occasion, that they had affairs of a higher nature to attend upon:⁴ ‘then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables; wherefore look ye out among you seven men of honest report, &c., and they chose Stephen and Philip,’⁵ &c. (among you) the body of the people, not from among the apostles. So when upon the persecution that arose upon Stephen's death, the church was dispersed, ‘they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa

¹ Strom. lib. iii. p. 448.

² Ap. Euseb. H. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 31, p. 102; vid. Doroth. Synops. de vit et mort. App. B. Pp. tom. iii. p. 148.

³ Acts, xxi. 8, 9.

⁴ Vid. Isid. Pelus. lib. i. Epist. 447—450, p. 94, 95.

⁵ Acts, vii. 2, 3, &c.

and Samaria, (and Philip, the deacon, among the rest, who went down to the city of Samaria,) except the apostles,' who tarried behind at Jerusalem.¹ And when Philip had converted and baptized considerable numbers in that place, he was forced to send for two of the apostles from Jerusalem, that so by apostolic hands they might be confirmed, and might 'receive the Holy Ghost.' Which had been wholly needless had Philip himself been of the twelve apostles. But it is needless to argue in this matter, the accounts concerning them being so widely different; for as they differed in their persons and offices, the one a deacon, the other an apostle, so also in the number of their children, four daughters being ascribed to the one, while three only are attributed to the other. He was one of the apostles who left no sacred writings behind him; the greater part of the apostles (as Eusebius observes²) having little leisure to write books, being employed in ministries more immediately useful and subservient to the happiness of mankind: though Epiphanius tells us,³ that the Gnostics were wont to produce a gospel forged under St. Philip's name, which they abused to the patronage of their horrible principles, and more brutish practices.⁴

¹ Acts, viii. 1, &c.

² Lib. iii. cap. 24, p. 94.

³ Adv. Gnost. Hæres. 26, p. 46.

⁴ This memoir of St. Philip very remarkably proves how much may be done in apostolic biography by the diligent accumulation of the incidents found scattered in the recognized sources of information. But the very brevity of the life of Philip, and some others of the apostles, conveys a moral of itself. How tempered ought to be the love and desire of personal fame, when it is seen, that those who were made the pillars of the everlasting church of God, took so little care to leave any memorial of themselves but that which is found in the name of the ministers—the apostles—the sent of Christ!—ED.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

THAT St. Bartholomew was one of the twelve apostles the evangelical history is most express and clear, though it seems to take no further notice of him than the bare mention of his name. Which doubtless gave the first occasion to many, both anciently and of later time, not without reason to suppose, that he lies concealed under some other name, and that this can be no other than Nathanael, one of the first disciples that came to Christ. Accordingly we may observe, that as St. John never mentions Bartholomew in the number of the apostles, so the other evangelists never take notice of Nathanael, probably because the same person under two several names; and as in John, Philip and Nathanael are joined together in their coming to Christ, so in the rest of the evangelists, Philip and Bartholomew are constantly put together, without the least variation; for no other reason, I conceive, than because they were jointly called to the discipleship, so they are jointly referred in the apostolic catalogue; as afterwards we find them joint-companions in the writings of the church. But that

which renders the thing most specious and probable is, that we find Nathanael particularly reckoned up with the other apostles to whom our Lord appeared at the sea of Tiberias after his resurrection; where there were together Simon Peter, and Thomas, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the two sons of Zebedee,¹ and two other of his disciples, who probably were Andrew and Philip. That by disciples is here meant apostles is evident, partly from the names of those that are reckoned up, partly because it is said, that ‘this was the third time that Jesus appeared to his disciples,’² it being plain that the two foregoing appearances were made to none but the apostles.

2. Had he been no more than an ordinary disciple, I think no tolerable reason can be given why, in filling up the vacancy made by the death of Judas, he, being so eminently qualified for the place, should not have been propounded as well as either Barsabas or Matthias, but that he was one of the twelve already. Nor, indeed, is it reasonable to suppose that Bartholomew should be his proper name, any more than Barjona the proper name of Peter, importing no more than his relative capacity, either as a son or a scholar. As a son it notes no more than his being ‘גָּר תְּלָמִי’ ‘the son of Tholmai,’ a name not uncommon amongst the Jews, it being customary among them for the son thus to derive his name; so Barjona, Bartimæus, the son of Timæus, &c., and to be usually called rather by this relative than his own proper name: thus Joseph was called Barsabas; thus Barnabas constantly so styled, though his right name was Joses.

¹ John, xxi. 1, 2.

² Ibid. v. 14.

Or else it may relate to him as a disciple of some particular sect and institution among the Jews; it being a custom for scholars, out of a great reverence for their masters, or first institutors of that way, to adopt their names, as Ben-ezra, Ben-uziel, &c. And this will be much more evident if the observation which one makes be true,¹ (which yet I will not contend for,) that as several sects in the Jewish church denominated themselves from some famous person of that nation, the Essenes from Enosh, the Sadducees from Sadoc, so there were others that called themselves Tholmæans, from Tholmai, scholar to Heber, the ancient master of the Hebrews, who was of the race or institution of the Enakim, who flourished in Debir and Hebron, with whom Abraham was confederate, that is, joined himself to their society. And of this order and institution, he tells us, Nathanael seems to have been, hence called Bartholomew, the son or scholar of the Tholmæans; hence said to be ‘an Israelite indeed, that is, one of the ancient race of the schools and societies of Israel. This, if so, would give us an account of his skill and ability in the Jewish law, wherein he is generally supposed to have been a doctor or teacher. But whichever of these two accounts of his denomination shall find most favour with the reader, either of them will serve my purpose, and reconcile the difference that seems to be between St. John and the other evangelists about his name; the one styling him by his proper name, the other by his relative and paternal title. To all this, if necessary, I might add the consent of learn-

¹ Bolduc. de Eccles. post Leg. c. 7. 45; vid. de Eccl. ante Leg. lib. ii. c. 8.

ed men, who have given in their suffrages in this matter, that it is but the same person under several names.¹ But hints of this may suffice. These arguments, I confess, are not so forcible and convictive as to command assent; but with all their circumstances considered, are sufficient to incline and sway any man's belief. The great and indeed **only** reason brought against it, is what St. Augustine objected of old,² that it is not probable that our Lord would choose Nathanael, a doctor of the law, to be one of his apostles, as designing to confound the wisdom of the world by the preaching of the idiot and the unlearned. But this is no reason to him that considers, that this objection equally lies against St. Philip, for whose skill in the law and prophets there is as much evidence, in the history of the gospel, as for Nathanael's; and much more strongly against St. Paul, than whom (besides his abilities in all human learning) there were few greater masters in the Jewish law.

3. This difficulty being cleared, we proceed to a more particular account of our apostle. By some he is thought to have been a Syrian, of a noble extract, and to have derived his pedigree from the Ptolomies of Egypt, upon no other ground, I believe, than the mere analogy and sound of the name. It is plain that he, as the rest of the apostles, was a Galilean; and of Nathanael we know it is particularly said, that he was of Cana in Galilee. The Scripture takes no notice of his trade or way of

¹ Rupert. Tuit. Comm. in Joan. 1; Jansen. Concord. c. 17; Omuphr. in Fast. Salmer. Tract. 18, tom. iv.; Montac. Orig. Saer. Part 2, p. 18; Dr. H. Annot. in Joh. 1, aliique.

² Tract. VII. in Joan. Col. 68, tom. ix. et in Psalm lxxv. Col. 671, tom. viii.

life, though some circumstances might seem to intimate that he was a fisherman, which Theodoret affirms of the apostles in general, and another particularly reports of our apostle. At his first coming to Christ (supposing him still the same with Nathanael) he was conducted by Philip, who told him that now they had found the long-looked for Messiah, so oft foretold by Moses and the prophets, ‘Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph :’ and when he objected, that the Messiah could not be born at Nazareth, Philip bids him come and satisfy himself. At his first approach our Lord entertains him with this honourable character, that he was an Israelite indeed, a man of true simplicity and integrity ; as indeed his simplicity particularly appears in this, that when told of Jesus he did not object against the meanness of his original, the low condition of his parents, the narrowness of their fortunes, but only against the place of his birth, which could not be Nazareth ; the prophets having peremptorily foretold, that the Messiah should be born at Bethlehem. By this, therefore, he appeared to be a true Israelite; one that ‘waited for redemption in Israel ;’ which from the date of the Scripture predictions, he was assured did now draw nigh. Surprised he was at our Lord’s salutation, wondering how he should know him so well at first sight, whose face he had never seen before. But he was answered, that he had seen him while he was yet under the fig-tree, before Philip called him. Convinced with this instance of our Lord’s divinity, he presently made his confession, that now he was sure that Jesus was the promised Messiah, the Son of God, whom

¹ John i. 45.

he had appointed to be the king and governor of his church. Our Saviour told him, that if upon this inducement he could believe him to be the Messiah, he should have far greater arguments to confirm his faith ; yea, that ere long he should behold the heavens opened to receive him, and the angels visibly appearing to wait and attend upon him.

4. Concerning our apostle's travels up and down the world, to propagate the Christian faith, we shall present the reader with a brief account, though we cannot warrant the exact order of them. That he went as far as India is owned by all, which surely is meant of the hither India, or the part of it lying next to Asia. Socrates tells us,¹ it was the India bordering upon Æthiopia, meaning no doubt the Asian Æthiopia; (whereof we shall speak in the life of St. Thomas;) Sophronius calls it the fortunate India; and tells us, that here he left behind him St. Matthew's gospel,² whereof Eusebius gives a more particular relation : that when Pantænus, a man famous for his skill in philosophy, and especially the institutions of the Stoics, but much more for his hearty affection to Christianity, in a devout and zealous imitation of the apostles, was inflamed with a desire to propagate the Christian religion upon the eastern countries ; he came as far as India itself. Here, amongst some that yet retained the knowledge of Christ, he found St. Matthew's gospel written in Hebrew, left here (as the tradition was) by St. Bartholomew, one of the twelve apostles, when he preached the gospel to these nations.³

5. After his labours in these parts of the world,

¹ H. Eccl. lib. i. c. 19, p. 50.

Apud Hier. de Scrip. Eccl. in Barthol.

H. Eccl. lib. v. c. 10, p. 175.

he returned to the more western and northern parts of Asia. At Hierapolis, in Phrygia, we find him in company with St. Philip, instructing that place in the principles of Christianity, and convincing them of the folly of their blind idolatries. Here, by the enraged magistrates, he was at the same time with Philip designed for martyrdom : in order whereunto he was fastened upon the cross, with an intent to dispatch him ; but upon a sudden conviction that the Divine justice would revenge their death, he was taken down again and dismissed. Hence, probably, he went into Lycaonia ; the people whereof Chrysostom assures us, he instructed and trained up in the Christian discipline.¹ His last remove was to Albanople, in Armenia the Great,² (the same no doubt which Nicephorus calls Urbanople, a city of Cilicia,³) a place miserably overgrown with idolatry ; from which, while he sought to reclaim the people, he was, by the governor of the place, commanded to be crucified ; which he cheerfully underwent, comforting and confirming the convert Gentiles to the last minute of his life. Some add, that he was crucified with his head downwards ; others that he was flayed, and his skin first taken off,⁴ which might consist well enough with his crucifixion, excoriation being a punishment in use, not only in Egypt, but amongst the Persians, next neighbours to these Armenians, (as Ammianus Marcellinus assures us ;⁵ and Plutarch⁶

¹ Serm. in SS. XII. App. p. 269, tom. vi.

² Sophron. ap Hier. in Barth.

³ Lib. ii. c. 39, p. 201 ; vid. Metaphr. ad Aug. 24.

⁴ Hippol. de App. ap. Bar. in Not. ad Martyr. ad Aug. 25 ; Isid. de SS. utriusque T. c. 77. ⁵ Am. Mar. lib. xxiii.

⁶ In vit. Artaxerx. p. 1019 ; vid Greg. Turon. de Glor. Mar. tyr. lib. i. c. 34, p. 46.

records a particular instance of Mesabates, the Persian eunuch, first flayed alive, and then crucified,) from whom they might easily borrow this piece of barbarous and inhuman cruelty. Respecting the several stages to which his body was removed after his death; first to Daras, a city in the borders of Persia, then to Liparis, one of the Æolian islands; thence to Beneventum, in Italy, and last of all to Rome; they that are fond of those things, and have better leisure, may inquire. Heretics persecuted his memory after his death, no less than heathens did his person while alive, by forging and fathering a fabulous gospel upon his name; which, together with others of like stamp, Gelasius, bishop of Rome, justly branded as apocryphal, altogether unworthy the name and patronage of an apostle.¹ And perhaps of no better authority is the sentence which Dionysius, the pretended Areopagite, records of our apostle, καὶ πολλὴν θεολογίαν εἶραι, καὶ ἐλαχίσην. Καὶ τὸ ἐναγγέλιον πλατὺ καὶ μέγα, καὶ αὐθις συντετμημένον, “that theology is both copious, and yet very small; and the gospel diffuse and large, and yet withal concise and short,”² which he, according to his vein, expounds concerning the boundless benignity, but withal incomprehensibleness of the divine nature, which is βραχύλεκτος ἀμά καὶ ἀλογος, quickly dispatched, because ineffable, and is not without the veil discoverable to any, but those that have got above, not only all sense and matter, but of all sense and understanding; that is, to the very height of mystical and unintelligible religion.

¹ Decret. Part 1, Distinct. 15, c. 3, Sect. Cæterum.

² De Mystic. Theol. c. 1, Sect. 3, p. 3.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MATTHEW, called also Levi, was, though a Roman officer, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, (both his names speaking him purely of Jewish extract and original,) and probably a Galilean, and whom I should have concluded born at or near Caper-naum; but that the Arabic writer of his life tells us, he was born at Nazareth,¹ a city in the tribe of Zebulun, famous for the habitation of Joseph and Mary, but especially for the education and residence of our blessed Saviour; who, though born at Bethlehem, was both conceived and bred up here, whence he lived the whole time of his private life, whence he derived the title of Jesus of Nazareth. St. Matthew was the son of Alpheus and Mary, sister or kinswoman to the blessed virgin: in the same Arabic author his father is called Ducu, and his mother Karutias, both originally descended of the tribe of Issachar; nothing being more common among the Jews, than for the same person to have several names; these latter probably expressed in Arabic,

¹ Apud Kirsten. Vit. 4, Evangel. p. 22.

according to their Jewish signification. His trade or way of life was that of a publican, or toll-gatherer, to the Romans; (which probably had been his father's trade; his name denoting a broker, or money-changer,) an office of bad report among the Jews. Indeed, among the Romans, it was accounted a place of power and credit, and honourable reputation, not ordinarily conferred upon any but Roman knights; insomuch, that T. Fl. Sabinus, father to the Emperor Vespasian, was the publican of the Asian provinces, an office which he discharged so much to the content and satisfaction of the people, that they erected statues to him with this inscription: ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ,¹ “To him that has well managed the publican-office.” These officers being sent into the provinces to gather the tributes, were wont to employ the natives under them, as persons best skilled in the affairs and customs of their own country. Two things especially concurred to render this office odious to the Jews. First, that the persons that managed it were usually covetous, and great exactors; for having themselves farmed the customs of the Romans, they must gripe and scrape by all methods of extortion, that they might be able both to pay their rent, and to raise gain and advantage to themselves: which doubtless Zacheus, the chief of these farmers, was sensible of, when, after his conversion, he offered four-fold restitution to any man from whom he had taken any thing by fraud and evil arts.² And upon this account they became infamous even among the Gentiles themselves, who commonly speak of them as cheats,

¹ Sueton. in vit. Vespas. cap. 1, p. 722.

² Luke, xix. 8.

and thieves, and public robbers, and worse members of a community, more voracious and destructive in a city than wild beasts in the forest.¹ The other thing that made the Jews so much detest them was, that this tribute was not only a grievance to their purses, but an affront to the liberty and freedom of their nation; for they looked upon themselves as a free-born people, and that they had been immediately invested in this privilege by God himself, and accordingly beheld this as a daily and standing instance of their slavery; which of all other things they could least endure, and which therefore betrayed them into so many unfortunate rebellions against the Romans. Add to this, that these publicans were not only obliged, by the necessity of their trade, to have frequent dealings and converse with the Gentiles, (which the Jews held unlawful and abominable,) but that, being Jews themselves, they rigorously exacted these things of their brethren, and thereby seemed to conspire with the Romans to entail perpetual slavery upon their own nation. For, though Tertullian thought that none but Gentiles were employed in this sordid office,² yet the contrary is too evident to need any argument to prove it.

¹ Κακὸν τέλος γένοιτο τοῖς Ὡρωπίοις.

Πάντες τελῶναι, πάντες εἰσὶν ἄρπαγες.

Xeno Comic. apud. Dicæarch de vit Græciæ,
cap. 4, p. 29.

Θεόκριτος ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖα τῶν Θηρίων ἐσὶ χαλεπώτατα,
ἔπειν· ἐν μεν τοῖς ὅρεσιν, ἄρκτοι καὶ λέοντες· ἐν δε ταῖς πόλεσιν
τελῶναι καὶ συκοφάνται.—Muson. apud Stob. Serm. ii. de Malit.
p. 31.

Διεβέβλητο παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, καὶ τὸ τέλον τελώνια ὅνομα,
πεπαρρήσιασμένη βία, ἀνεπιτίμητος ἄρπαγη, ἀναίσχυτος
πλεονεξία, πραγματεία λόγου μὴ ἔχεστα, ἀναιδῆς ἐμπορία.—
Suid. in voc. τελώνης.

² De Pudicit. c. 7, p. 561.

2. By these means publicans became so universally abhorred by the Jewish nation, that it was accounted unlawful to do them any office of common kindness and courtesy ; nay, they held it no sin to cozen and overreach a publican, and that with the solemnity of an oath ; they might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them ; they were looked upon as common thieves and robbers ; and money received of them might not be put to the rest of a man's estate, it being presumed to have been gained by rapine and violence : they were not admitted as persons fit to give testimony and evidence in any cause : so infamous were they, as not only to be banished all communion in the matters of divine worship, but to be shunned in all affairs of civil society and commerce, as the pests of their country, persons of an infectious converse, of as vile a class as heathens themselves. Hence the common proverb among them : "Take not a wife out of that family wherein there is a publican, for they are all publicans;"¹ that is, thieves, robbers, and wicked sinners. To this proverbial usage our Lord alludes, when speaking of a contumacious sinner, whom neither private reproofs, nor the public censures and admonitions of the church can prevail upon : 'Let him be unto thee' (says he) 'as an heathen and a publican ;'² as elsewhere, publicans and sinners are yoked together, as persons of equal esteem and reputation. Of this trade and office was our St. Matthew ; and it seems more particularly to have consisted in gathering the customs of commodities

¹ אין לך ממשתחה שיש בה מיכס שחט בולם מוכסין.

² Matth. xviii. 17.

that came by the sea of Galilee, and the tribute which passengers were to pay that went by water; a thing frequently mentioned in the Jewish writings; where we are also told of the קַשְׁר or ticket, consisting of two greater letters written in paper or some such matter, called סֻכָּסִין קַשְׁר, the ticket or signature of the publicans,¹ which the passenger had with him to certify them on the other side the water, that he had already paid the toll or custom: upon which account, the Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew, published by Munster, renders publican by בָּעֵל עֲכָרָה ‘the Lord of the passage. For this purpose they kept their office or custom-house by the sea-side, that they might be always near at hand; and here it was (as St. Mark intimates) that Matthew had his toll-booth, where ‘he sat at the receipt of custom.

3. Our Lord having lately cured a famous paralytic, retired out of Capernaum, to walk by the sea-side,² where he taught the people that flocked after him. Here he espied Matthew, sitting in his custom-office, whom he called to come and follow him: the man was rich, had a wealthy and gainful trade, has a wise and prudent person, (no fools being put into that office,) and understood, no doubt, what it would cost him to comply with this new employment; that he must exchange wealth for poverty, a custom-house for a prison, gainful masters for a naked and despised Saviour. But he overlooked all these considerations, *lest* all his interests and relations, to become our Lord’s disciple, and to embrace πραγματείαν πνευματικήν, (as

¹ Vid. Buxtorf. Lex. in voc. מַזְבֵּחַ

² Matth. ix. 9; Mark, ii. 14; Luke v. 27 - 29.

Chrysostom observes,¹⁾ a more spiritual way of commerce and traffic. We cannot suppose that he was before wholly unacquainted with our Saviour's person or doctrine, especially living at Capernaum, the place of Christ's usual residence, where his sermons and miracles were so frequent; by which he could not but in some measure be prepared to receive the impressions which our Saviour's call now made upon him. And to show that he was not discontented at his change, nor apprehended himself a loser by this bargain, he entertained our Lord and his disciples at a great dinner in his house, whither he invited his friends, especially those of his own profession, piously hoping that they also might be caught by our Saviour's converse and company. The Pharisees, whose eye was constantly evil where another man's was good, and who would either find or make occasions to snarl at him, began to suggest to his disciples, that it was unbecoming so pure and holy a person as their master pretended himself to be, thus familiarly to converse with the worst of men, publicans and sinners, persons infamous to a proverb. But he presently replied to them, that they were the sick that needed the physician, not the sound and healthy; that his company was most suitable where the necessities of souls did most require it; that God himself preferred acts of mercy and charity, especially in reclaiming sinners, and doing good to souls, infinitely before all ritual observances, and the nice rules of persons conversing with one another; and that the main design of his coming into the world was not to bring the righte-

¹⁾ Homil. xi. in 1, ad Corinth. p. 419.

ous, or those who, like themselves, proudly conceited themselves to be so, and in a vain opinion of their own strictness, loftily scorned all mankind besides ; but sinners, modest, humble, self-convinced offenders, to repentance, and to reduce them to a better state and course of life.

4. After his election to the apostolate, he continued with the rest till our Lord's ascension ; and then, for the first eight years at least, preached up and down Judæa. After which, being to betake himself to the conversion of the Gentile world, he was entreated by the convert Jews to commit to writing the history of our Saviour's life and actions, and to leave it among them as the standing record of what he had preached to them ; which he did accordingly, and so composed his gospel, whereof more in due place. Little certainty can be had as to what travels he underwent for the advancement of the Christian faith, so irrecoverably is truth lost in a crowd of legendary stories. Æthiopia is generally assigned as the province of his apostolical ministry.¹ Metaphrastes tells us, that he went first into Parthia, and having successfully planted Christianity in those parts, thence travelled into Æthiopia, that is, the Asiatic Æthiopia, lying near to India :² where, by preaching and miracles, he mightily triumphed over errors and idolatry, convinced and converted multitudes, ordained spiritual guides and pastors to confirm and build them up, and bring over others to the faith, and then finished his own course. As for what is related by Nicephorus, of his going into the country of the can-

¹ Socrat. lib. i. c. 19, p. 50.

² Apud Sur. ad diem 21 Septemb. vol. iii. p. 217.

nibals, constituting Plato, one of his followers, bishop of Myrmena; of Christ's appearing to him in the form of a beautiful youth, and giving him a wand, which on his pitching it into the ground, immediately grew up into a tree; of his strangely converting the prince of that country, of his numerous miracles, peaceable death, and sumptuous funerals, with abundance more of the same stamp and coin, they are justly to be reckoned amongst those fabulous reports that have no pillar or ground either of truth or probability to support them.¹ Most probable it is (what an ancient writer affirms) that he suffered martyrdom at Naddaber, a city of Æthiopia,² but by what kind of death is altogether uncertain. Whether this Naddaber be the same with Beschberi, where the Arabic writer of his life affirms him to have suffered martyrdom, let others inquire;³ he also adds, that he was buried at Arthagane⁴ tu Cæsarea, but where that is, is to me unknown. Dorotheus makes him honourably buried at Hierapolis in Parthia, one of the first places to which he preached the gospel.⁵

5. He was a great instance of the power of religion, how much a man may be brought off to a better temper. If we reflect upon his circumstances, while yet a stranger to Christ, we shall find that the world had very great advantages upon him. He was become a master of a plentiful estate, engaged in a rich and a gainful trade, sup-

¹ H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 41; p. 203.

² "Inde triumphantem fert India Bartholomæum :
Matthæum eximium Naddaber alta virum."

Ven. Fortun. de Senat. Cur. Cœl. Poem. lib. vii. p. 187.

³ Ubi supr. p. 30.

⁴ Ibid. p. 31.

⁵ Synops de vit. et mort. App. in Bibl. Pp tom. iii. p. 148.

ported by the power and favour of the Romans, prompted by covetous inclinations, and these confirmed by long habits and customs. And yet notwithstanding all this, no sooner did Christ call, but without the least scruple or dissatisfaction, he flung up all at once; and not only renounced (as St. Basil observes) his gainful incomes, but ran an immediate hazard of the displeasure of his masters that employed him, for quitting their service, and leaving his accounts entangled and confused behind him.¹ Had our Saviour been a mighty prince, it had been no wonder that he should run over to his service; but when he appeared under all the circumstances of meanness and disgrace, when he seemed to promise his followers nothing but misery and suffering in this life, and to propound no other rewards but the invisible encouragements of another world; his change in this case was the more strange and admirable. Indeed so admirable, that Porphyry and Julian (two subtle and acute adversaries of the Christian religion) hence took occasion to charge him either with falsehood or with folly; either that he gave not a true account of the thing, or that it was very weakly done of him, so hastily to follow any one that called him.² But the holy Jesus was no common person; in all his commands there was somewhat more than ordinary. Indeed St. Jerome conceives, that besides the divinity that manifested itself in his miracles, there was a divine brightness, and a kind of majesty in our Saviour's looks, that at first sight was attractive enough to draw persons after him. How-

¹ Leg. fusius disput. Interrog. viii. p. 431, tom. ii.

² Ap. Hieron. in Matt. ix p. 26, tom. ix.

ever, his miraculous powers, that reflected a lustre from every quarter, and the efficacy of his doctrine accompanied with the grace of God, made way for the summons that was sent our apostle, and enabled him to conquer all oppositions that stood in the way to hinder him.

6. His contempt of the world further appeared in his exemplary temperance and abstemiousness from all the delights and pleasures, yea, the ordinary conveniences and accommodations of it; so far from indulging his appetite with nice and delicate curiosities, that he refused to gratify it with lawful and ordinary provisions, eating no flesh; his usual diet being nothing but herbs, roots, seeds, and berries.¹ But what appeared most remarkable in him, and which, though the least virtue in itself, is the greatest in a wise man's esteem and value, was his humility; mean and modest in his own conceit, in honour preferring others before himself. Whereas the other evangelists in describing the apostles by pairs, constantly place him before Thomas, he modestly places him before himself.² The rest of the evangelists openly mention the honour of his apostleship, but speak of his former sordid, dishonest, and disgraceful course of life only under the name of Levi, while he himself sets it down, with all its circumstances, under his own proper and common name. Which as at once it commends his own candour and inge-

¹ Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. p. 148.

² “Cæteri evangelistæ in conjunctione nominum primum ponunt Matthæum, et postea Thomam: iste verò et post Thomam se ponit, et publicanum appellat; ut ubi abundavit iniquitas, superabundet et gratia.”—Hieron. Com. in Matt. c. 10, p. 29, tom. ix.

nuity, so it administers to us this not unuseful consideration, that the greatest sinners are not excluded the lines of divine grace; nor can any, if penitent, have just reason to despair, when publicans and sinners are taken in. And as St. Matthew himself does freely and impartially record his own vile and dishonourable course of life;¹ so the two other evangelists, though setting down the story, take notice of him only under another name; to teach us to treat a penitent brother with all modesty and tenderness. “If a man repent” (say the Jews) **לא יאמך לו זכוך מעשיך חראשוכים** “let no man say to him, Remember thy former works;”² which they explain not only concerning Israelites, but even strangers and proselytes. It being against the rules of civility, as well as the laws of religion, when a man hath repented, to upbraid and reproach him with the errors and follies of his past life.

7. The last thing that calls for any remarks in the life of this apostle is his gospel, written at the entreaty of the Jewish converts; and as Epiphanius tells us, at the command of the apostles, while he was yet in Palestine, about eight years after the death of Christ;³ though Nicephorus will have it to have been written fifteen years after our Lord's ascension;⁴ and Irenæus yet much wider, who seems to imply that it was written while Peter and Paul preached at Rome,⁵ which was not, according

¹ “Cæteri evangelistæ nec publicani nomen ascribunt: ne antiquæ conversationis recordantes, sugillare Evangelistam videantur.”—Hieron. ibid.

² Bava Metsia, fol. 58, 2.

³ Hæres. 51, p. 185.

⁴ H. Eccl lib. ii. c. 45, p. 213.

⁵ Adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 229.

to the common account, till near thirty years after. But most plain it is, that it must be written before the dispersion of the apostles, seeing St. Bartholomew (as we have noted in his life) took it along with him into India, and left it there. He wrote it in Hebrew, as primarily designing it for the use of his countrymen;¹ and strange it is, that any should question its being originally written in that language, when the thing is so universally and uncontrollably asserted by all antiquity, not one that I know of, after the strictest inquiry I could make, dissenting in this matter, and who certainly had far greater opportunities of being satisfied in these things, than we can have at so great a distance. It was no doubt soon after translated into Greek, though by whom St Jerome professes he could not tell; Theophylact says it was reported to have been done by St. John;² but Athanasius more expressly attributes the translation to St. James the Less.³ The best is, it matters not much whether it was translated by an apostle or some disciple, so long as the apostles approved the version, and that the church has ever received the Greek copy for authentic, and reposed it in the sa-

¹ Papias ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 39, p. 113; Iren. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 229; Origen. Exposit. in Matt. lib. v, ap.; Euseb. lib. vi. c. 25, p. 226; Athan. Synops. S. Script. p. 493; Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. 14, p. 341; Epiphan. Hæres. 29, p. 59; Hær. 51, p. 185; Chrysost. Homil. i. in Matth. p. 4; Hier. de Script. Eccl. in Matth. Præf. in 4 Evang. ad Dam. tom. iii. p. 30, et alibi sæpe; August. de Consens. Evang. lib. i c. 2, col. 372; Doroth. Synops. de vit. App. p. 148; Anast. Sinait. Hexaem. lib. viii; Arabs quidam in vit. MS. Matthæi apud Kirsten. de vit. Quat. Evangel. n. 10, p. 29; Paraph. Syrus ad cal. Evangel. S. Matth. Ita Arabs et versio Persic. Præfat ad id. Evangel.

² Præf. Comment. in Matth. p. 2.

³ Synops. S. Script. p. 493.

cred canon. And therefore, when the late Arian advocate¹ brings in one of his party, challenging the divine authority of this gospel, because but a translation, he might have remembered it is such a translation as has all the advantages of an original; as being translated while the apostles were yet in being to supervise and ratify it, and whose authority has always been held sacred and inviolable by the whole church of God. But the plain truth of the case is, St. Matthew is a back-friend to the anti-trinitarian cause, as recording that express command, ‘ Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ Which words must needs be supposititious, and added by some ignorant hand, for no other reason but because they make against them. Nay, the whole gospel we see must be discarded, rather than stand in the way of a dear and beloved opinion.

8. After the Greek translation was entertained, the Hebrew copy was chiefly owned and used by the Nazaræi,² a middle sect of men between Jews and Christians: with the Christians they believed in Christ, and embraced his religion; with the Jews they adhered to the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic law: and hence this gospel came to be styled ‘ the Gospel according to the Hebrews,’ and ‘ the Gospel of the Nazarenes.’ By them it was, by degrees, interpolated; several passages of the evangelical history, which they had heard either from the apostles or those who had familiarly conversed with them, being inserted, which the ancient fa-

¹ Sand. Interpret. Paradox. ad Matth. xxviii. 19.

² Epiph. Hæres. 29, p. 59.

thers frequently refer to in their writings; as by the Ebionites it was mutilated, and many things cut off,¹ for the same reason for which the followers of Cerinthus, though making use of the greatest part of it, rejected the rest, because it made so much against them. This Hebrew copy (though whether exactly the same as it was written by St. Matthew, I will not say) was found, among other books, in the treasury of the Jews at Tiberias, by Joseph a Jew,² and after his conversion, a man of great honour and esteem in the time of Constantine: another, St. Jerome assures us,³ was kept in the library at Cæsarea in his time; and another by the Nazarenes at Borcea, from whom he had the liberty to transcribe it, and which he afterwards translated both into Greek and Latin; with this particular observation, that in quoting the text of the Old Testament, the evangelist immediately follows the Hebrew, without taking notice of the translation of the Septuagint. A copy also of this gospel was, anno 485, dug up and found in the grave of Barnabas in Cyprus, transcribed with his own hand.⁴ But these copies are long since perished; and for those that have been since published to the world, both by Tile and Munster, were there no other argument, they too openly betray themselves, by their barbarous and improper style, not to be the genuine issue of that less corrupt and better age.

¹ Epiph. Hæres. 40, p. 64, id Hær. 27, p. 54.

² Epiph. ib. Hæres. xxx. p. 60, vid. p. 61.

³ De Script. Eccl. in Matth.

⁴ Theodor. Lect. Collectan. lib. ii. non longe ab init. p. 184

ST. THOMAS.

It was customary with the Jews, when travelling into foreign countries, or familiarly conversing with the Greeks and Romans, to assume to themselves a Greek or a Latin name, of great affinity, and sometimes of the very same signification with that of their own country. Thus our Lord was called Christ, answering to his Hebrew title, Mashiach, or the anointed; Simon, styled Peter, according to that of Cephas, which our Lord put upon him; Tabitha, called Dorcas, both signifying a goat: thus our St. Thomas, according to the Syriac importance of his name, had the title of Didymus, which signifies a twin; Thomas which is called Didymus. Accordingly the Syriac version renders it Thauma, which is called Thama; that is, a twin: the not understanding whereof imposed upon Nonnus the Greek paraphrast, who makes him ἄνδρα διώνυμον, to have had two distinct names

διώνυμος ἐννεπε Θωμᾶς,
"Ον Δίδυμον καλέβσι — — —.¹

¹ Nonn. Panop. in Joan. c. 11.

it being but the same name expressed in different languages. The history of the gospel takes no particular notice either of the country or kindred of this apostle. That he was a Jew is certain, and in all probability a Galilean. He was born (if we may believe Symeon Metaphrastes¹) of very mean parents, who brought him up to the trade of fishing; but withal took care to give him a more useful education, instructing him in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereby he learned wisely to govern his life and manners. He was together with the rest called to the apostleship; and not long after gave an eminent instance of his hearty willingness to undergo the saddest fate that might attend them. For when the rest of the apostles dissuaded our Saviour from going into Judæa, (whither he was now resolved for the raising his dear Lazarus, lately dead,) lest the Jews should stone him, as but a little before they had attempted it, St. Thomas desires them not to hinder Christ's journey thither, though it might cost their lives: 'Let us also go, that we may die with him;²' probably concluding, that instead of raising Lazarus from the dead, they themselves should be sent with him to their own graves. So that he made up in pious affections what he seemed to want in the quickness and acumen of his understanding, not readily apprehending some of our Lord's discourses, nor over-forward to believe more than himself had seen. When the holy Jesus, a little before his fatal sufferings, had been speaking to them of the joys of heaven, and had told them that he was going to prepare, that they might fol-

¹ Apud Sur. ad diem 21 Decemb. n. 2.

² John, xi. 16.

low him, that they knew both the place whither he was going, and the way thither; our apostle replied, that they knew not whither he went, and much less the way that led to it.¹ To which our Lord returns this short but satisfactory answer, that he was the true living way, the Person whom the Father had sent into the world to show men the paths of eternal life; and that they could not miss of heaven, if they did but keep to that way which he had prescribed and chalked out before them.

2. Our Lord being dead, it is evident how much the apostles were distracted between hopes and fears concerning his resurrection, not yet fully satisfied about it; which engaged him the sooner to hasten his appearance, that by the sensible manifestations of himself he might put the case beyond all possibilities of dispute. The very day whereon he arose he came into the house where they were, while for fear of the Jews the doors were yet fast shut about them, and gave them sufficient assurance that he was really risen from the dead.² At this meeting St. Thomas was absent, having probably never recovered their company since their last dispersion in the garden, when every one's fears prompted him to consult his own safety. At his return, they told him that their Lord had appeared to them; but he obstinately refused to give credit to what they said, or to believe that it was he, presuming it rather a phantasm or mere apparition, unless he might see the very prints of the nails, and feel the wounds in his hands and sides. A strange piece of infidelity! Was this any more than what Moses and the prophets had long since

foretold? Had not our Lord frequently told them in plain terms, that he must rise again the third day? Could he question the possibility of it, who had so often seen him do the greatest miracles? Was it reasonable to reject the testimony of so many eye-witnesses, ten to one against himself, and of whose fidelity he was assured? or could he think that either themselves should be deceived, or that they would jest and trifle with him in so solemn and serious a matter? A stubbornness that might have betrayed him into an eternal infidelity. But our compassionate Saviour would not take the advantage of the man's refractory unbelief, but on that day seven-night again came to them, as they were solemnly met at their devotions, and calling to Thomas, bade him look upon his hands, put his fingers into the prints of the nails, and thrust his hand into the hole of his side, and satisfy his faith by a demonstration from sense. The man was quickly convinced of his error and obstinacy, confessing that he now acknowledged him to be his very Lord and master; a God omnipotent, that was thus able to rescue himself from the powers of death. Our Lord replied no more, than that it was well he believed his own senses, but that it was a more noble and commendable act of faith to acquiesce in a rational evidence, and to entertain the doctrines and relations of the gospel upon such testimonies and assurances of the truth of things, as will satisfy a wise and sober man, though he did not see them with his own eyes.

3. The blessed Jesus being gone to heaven, and having eminently given gifts and miraculous powers to the apostles, St. Thomas moved thereto by some divine intimation, is said to have dispatched Thad-

dæus, one of the seventy disciples to Abgarus, toparch of Edessa, (between whom and our Saviour the letters commonly said to have passed, are still extant in Eusebius,) whom he first cured of an inveterate distemper, and after converted him and his subjects to the faith.¹ The apostolical province assigned to St. Thomas, (as Origen tells us,²) was Parthia; after which Sophronius and others inform us,³ that he preached the gospel to the Medes, Persians, Carmans, Hyrcani, Bactrians, and the neighbour nations. In Persia, one of the ancients⁴ (upon what ground I know not) acquaints us, that he met with the magi, or wise men, who came that long journey, from the east, to bring presents to our new-born Saviour, whom he baptized and took along with him as his companions and assistants in the propagation of the gospel. Hence he preached in and passed through Æthiopia;⁵ that is, (that we may a little clear this by the way,) the Asian Æthiopia, conterminous to, if not the same with Chaldaea; whence Tacitus⁶ does not only make the Jews descendants from the Æthiopians, as whose ancestors came from Ur of the Chaldeans; but Hesychius⁷ makes the inhabitants of Zagrus, a mountain beyond Tigris, ἔθνος Αἰθιόπων, "a people of the Æthiopians;" this is the כוש לארץ mentioned by Benjamin the Jew, in his Itinerary,⁸ the

¹ Euseb. lib. i. c. 13, p. 32, et lib. ii. c. 1, p. 39.

² Lib. iii. in Gen. ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 71; Socr. lib. i. c. 19; Clem. Recognit. lib. ix. p. 101, fac. 2.

³ Ap. Hier. de Script. in Thoma. Theod. de Leg. Serm. 9.

⁴ Auth. Oper. Imperf. in Matth. ap. Chrysost. Hom. 2, p.

776.

⁵ Chrysost. Serm. in xii. App. tom. vi. p. 269.

⁶ Hist. lib. v. c. 2, p. 534.

⁷ Hesych. in voc. Σάγραι.

⁸ Itin. D. Benj. Jud. p. 98.

land of Cush, or Æthiopia; the inhabitants whereof are styled by Herodotus,¹ *οἱ ἀφ' ἵλισ ἀνατολίων Αἰθιοπες*, “the oriental Æthiopians,” by way of distinction from those *ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτων*, who lived south of Egypt, and were under the same military prefecture with the Arabians, under the command of Arsames, as the other were joined with the Indians; and in the same place are called *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθιοπες*, the Asian Æthiopians. Having travelled through these countries, he at last came into India. We are told by Nicephorus,² that he was at first unwilling to venture himself into those countries, fearing he should find their manners as rude and intractable as their faces were black and deformed, till encouraged by a vision, that assured him of the divine presence to assist him; he travelled a great way into those eastern nations, as far as the island Taprobane, since called Sumatra, and the country of the Brachmans, preaching everywhere with all the arts of gentleness and mild persuasives;³ not flying out into tart invectives, and furious heats against their idolatrous practices, but calmly instructing them in the principles of Christianity; by degrees persuading them to renounce their follies, knowing that confirmed habits must be cured by patience and long forbearing, by slow and gentle methods: and by these means he wrought upon the people, and brought them over from the grossest errors and superstition to the hearty belief and entertainment of religion.

4. In want of better evidence from antiquity, it may not be amiss to inquire, what account the

¹ Lib. vii. c. 69, 70, p. 408.

² H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 40, p. 201.

³ S. Metaphr. ad 21 Decem. n. 8, 9.

Portugals, in their first discoveries of these countries, received of these matters, partly from ancient monuments and writings, partly from constant and uncontrolled traditions, which the Christians, whom they found in those parts, preserved amongst them. They tell us,¹ that St. Thomas came first to Socotora, an island in the Arabian sea; thence to Cranganor, where having converted many, he travelled further into the east; and having successfully preached the gospel, returned back into the kingdom of Cormandel; where, at Malipur, the metropolis of the kingdom, not far from the influx of the Ganges into the gulf of Bengala, he began to erect a place for divine worship, till prohibited by the priests and Sagamo, prince of that country. But, upon the conviction of several miracles, the work went on, and the Sagamo himself embraced the Christian faith, whose example was soon followed by great numbers of his friends and subjects. The Brachmans, who plainly perceived that this would certainly spoil their trade, and in time extirpate the religion of their country, thought it high time to put a stop to this growing novelism; and resolved in council, that some way or other the apostle must be put to death. There was a tomb not far from the city, whither the apostle was wont to retire to his solitudes and private devotions; hither the Brachmans and their armed followers pursue the apostle; and while he was intent at prayer, they first load him with darts and stones, till one of them coming nearer, ran him through with a lance. His body was taken up by his disciples, and buried in the church which he had lately built, and which

¹ Maff. Histor. Indic. lib. ii. p. 85.

was afterwards improved into a fabric of great stateliness and magnificence. Gregory of Tours¹ relates many miracles done upon the annual solemnities of his martyrdom; and one standing miracle, an account whereof, he tells us, he received from one Theodorus, who had himself been in that place, viz. that in the temple where the apostle was buried, there hung a lamp before his tomb, which burnt perpetually, without oil or fuel to feed and nourish it; the light whereof was never diminished, nor by wind or any other accident could be extinguished. But whether travellers might not herein be imposed upon by the crafty artifices of the priests, or those who did attend the church; or if true, whether it might not be performed by art, I leave to others to inquire. Some will have his body to have been afterwards translated to Edessa, a city in Mesopotamia; but the Christians in the east constantly affirm it to have remained in the place of his martyrdom, where (if we may believe relations²) it was after dug up, with great cost and care, at the command of Don Emanuel Frea, governor of the coast of Cormandel; and together with it was found the bones of the Sagamo, whom he had converted to the faith.

5. While Don Alfonso Sousa, one of the vice-roys in India under John the Third, king of Portugal, resided in these parts, certain brass tables were brought to him, whose ancient inscriptions could scarce be read, till at last, by the help of a Jew, an excellent antiquary, they were found to contain nothing but a donation made to St. Thomas, whereby the king, who then reigned,

¹ De Glor. Martyr. lib. i. cap. 32, p. 41.

² Maff. ib. lib. viii. p. 363.

granted to him a piece of ground for the building of a church.¹ They tell us also of a famous cross, found in St. Thomas's chapel at Malipur, wherein was an unintelligible inscription, which, by a learned Bramin, (whom they compelled to read and expound it,) gave an account to this effect; that Thomas, a divine person, was sent into those countries by the Son of God in the time of king Sagamo, to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God; that he built a church, and performed admirable miracles; but at last, while upon his knees at prayer, was by a Brachman thrust through with a spear; and that that cross, stained with his blood, had been left as a memorial of these matters: an interpretation that was afterwards confirmed by another grave and learned Bramin, who expounded the inscription to the very same effect. The judicious reader will measure his belief of these things by the credit of the reporters, and the rational probability of the things themselves, which, for my part, as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, so I will not utterly conclude them to be false.

6. From these first plantations of Christianity in the Eastern Indies by our apostle, there is said to have been a continued series and succession of Christians (hence called St. Thomas-Christians) in those parts unto this day. The Portugals, at their first arrival here, found them in great numbers in several places, no less, as some tell us, than fifteen or sixteen thousand families.² They are very poor, and their churches generally mean and

¹ Osor. de reb. Eman. lib. iii. p. 120.

² Osor. ibid. p. 119, et seq. Maff. lib. ii. p. 88; Joseph. Ind. Navig. inter relat. Nov. Orb. c. 133, 134, p. 204; vid. M. Paul. Ven. lib. ii. c. 17, ibid. p. 394.

sordid, wherein they had no images of saints, nor any representations but that of the cross: they are governed in spirituals by a high-priest, (whom some make an Armenian patriarch, of the sect of Nestorius, but in truth is no other than the patriarch of Muzal; the remainder, as is probable, of the ancient Seleucia, and by some, though erroneously, styled Babylon,) residing northward in the mountains; who, together with twelve cardinals, two patriarchs, and several bishops, disposes all affairs referring to religion; and to him all the Christians of the east yield subjection. They promiscuously admit all to the holy communion, which they receive under both kinds, of bread and wine; though instead of wine, which their country affords not, making use of the juice of raisins, steeped one night in water, and then pressed forth. Children, unless in case of sickness, are not baptized till the fortieth day. At the death of friends, their kindred and relations keep an eight-days' feast in memory of the departed. Every Lord's day they have their public assemblies for prayer and preaching, their devotions being managed with great reverence and solemnity. Their Bible, at least the New Testament, is in the Syriac language, to the study whereof the preachers earnestly exhort the people. They observe the times of Advent and Lent, the festivals of our Lord, and many of the saints; those especially that relate to St. Thomas, the Dominica in Albis, or Sunday after Easter, in memory of the famous confession which St. Thomas on that day made of Christ, after he had been sensibly cured of his unbelief; another, on the first of July, celebrated not only by Christians, but by Moors and Pagans, the people who come to his

sepulchre on pilgrimage carrying away a little of the red earth of the place where he was interred, which they keep as an inestimable treasure, and conceit it sovereign against diseases. They have a kind of monasteries of the religious, who live in great abstinence and chastity. Their priests are shaven in fashion of a cross, have leave to marry once, but denied a second time: no marriages to be dissolved, but by death. These rites and customs they solemnly pretend to have derived from the very time of St. Thomas, and with the greatest care and diligence do observe them at this day.¹

¹ In the learned work of *La Croze*, “*Histoire du Christianisme des Judes*,” much curious information is given on the subject of the first planting of Christianity in those countries which are said to have been converted by the apostles. *La Croze* himself, however, inclines to the opinion that the Thomas whose memory is received as the first teacher of Christianity in the region of Malabar, was not the disciple of Christ, but a certain Manichæan, who obeying the zealous spirit which appears in many instances to have inspired the followers of that great heresiarch, conveyed the doctrines of his Master, as so much of Christianity as was conformable to those doctrines to this distant region. But, after all, there is no improbability in the tradition respecting the journeys of the apostle; and it is on the whole far more reasonable to ascribe the first planting of the gospel in so remote a part of the world to an inspired and divinely appointed, and divinely protected minister of Christ, than to an obscure and bewildered heretic.—ED.



ST. JAMES THE LESS.

BEFORE we can enter upon the life of this apostle, some difficulty must be cleared relating to his person. Doubted it has been by some, whether this was the same with that St. James that was bishop of Jerusalem, three of this name being presented to us; St. James the Great, this St. James the Less, (both apostles,) and a third, surnamed the **Just**, distinct (say they) from the former, and bishop of Jerusalem. But this (however pretending to some little countenance from antiquity) is a very great mistake, and built upon a sandy bottom: for besides that the Scripture mentions no more than two of this name, and both apostles, nothing can be plainer, than that that St. James the apostle, whom St. Paul calls our Lord's brother, and reckons with Peter and John, one of the pillars of the church, was the same that presided among the apostles, (no doubt by virtue of his place,) it being his episcopal chair, and determined in the synod a Jerusalem. Nor does either Clemens Alexandrinus, or Eusebius out of him, mention any more than two: St. James, put to death by

Herod, and St. James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem, whom they expressly affirm to be the same with him whom St. Paul calls the brother of our Lord.¹ Once, indeed, Eusebius² makes our St. James one of the seventy, though elsewhere quoting a place of Clemens of Alexandria, he numbers him with the chief of the apostles, and expressly distinguishes him from the seventy disciples.³ Nay, St. Jerome,⁴ though when representing the opinion of others he styles him the thirteenth apostle, yet elsewhere,⁵ when speaking his own sense, sufficiently proves that there were but two, James the son of Zebedee, and the other the son of Alphæus; the one surnamed the greater, the other the less. Besides that the main support of the other opinion is built upon the authority of Clemens's Recognitions, a book in doubtful cases of no esteem and value.

2. This doubt being removed, we proceed to the history of his life. He was the son (as we may probably conjecture) of Joseph, (afterwards husband of the blessed virgin,) and his first wife, whom St. Jerome, from tradition, styles Escha; Hippolytus, bishop of Porto, Salome;⁶ and further adds, that she was the daughter of Aggi, brother to Zacharias, father to John the Baptist:⁷

¹ Δύο δε γεγόνασιν Ἰάκωβοι εἰς ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τὴν πτερυγίαν βληθεὶς, καὶ ὑπὸ κνάφεως ξύλῳ πληγεὶς εἰς Θάνατον· ἔτερος δε ὁ καρατομηθεὶς. Αὐτῷ δε τὸ δικαίως ἡ ὁ Παῦλος μημνουμένη γράμμων· ἔτερον δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐκ εἶδον εἰ μή Ἰάκωβοι τὸν αὐτελφὸν τὴν κηρύξιν.—Clem. Alex. Hypotyp. lib. vii. ap. Eus lib. ii. c. 1, p. 38.

² H. Eccl. lib. i. c. 12, p. 31.

³ Lib. ii. c. i. p. 38.

⁴ Comment. in Isai. cap. 17, p. 60, tom. v.

⁵ Adv. Helvid. tom. ii. p. 10.

⁶ Comment. in Mat. 12, p. 38, tom. ix.

⁷ Ap. Niceph. lib. ii. c. 3, p. 135.

hence reputed our Lord's brother, in the same sense that he was reputed the son of Joseph. Indeed we find several spoken of in the history of the gospel, who were Christ's brethren; but in what sense, was controverted of old. St. Jerome, Chrysostom, and some others, will have them so called, because the sons of Mary, cousin-german, or according to the custom of the Hebrew language, sister to the virgin Mary. But Eusebius,¹ Epiphanius,² and the far greater part of the ancients (from whom, especially in matters of fact, we are not rashly to depart) make them the children of Joseph, by a former wife. And this seems most genuine and natural, the evangelists seeming very express and accurate in the account which they give of them: 'Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Jude? and his sisters (whose names, says the foresaid Hippolytus, were Esther and Tamar) are they not all with us? Whence then hath this man these things?' By which it is plain, that the Jews understood these persons not to be Christ's kinsmen only, but his brothers, the same carpenter's sons, having the same relation to him that Christ himself had: though indeed they had more, Christ being but his reputed, they his natural sons. Upon this account the blessed virgin is sometimes called 'the mother of James and Joses;' for so, amongst the women that attended at our Lord's crucifixion, we find three eminently taken notice of, 'Mary Magdalen,

¹ H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 1, p. 38.

² Cont. Cerinth. Hæres. xxviii. p. 55, contr. Naz. Hæres. xxix. p. 56, et contra Antidicomar. Hæres. lxxviii. p. 438, 439; Greg. Nyssen. de Resurrect. Christ. Orat. ii. p. 844, tom. ii. Matt. xiii. 55, 56.

Mary, the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children.¹ Where, by 'Mary, the mother of James and Joses,' no other can be meant than the virgin Mary: it not being reasonable to suppose that the evangelists should omit the blessed virgin, who was certainly there; and therefore St. John, reckoning up the same persons, expressly styles her 'the mother of Jesus.' And though it is true she was but St. James's mother-in-law, yet the evangelists might choose so to style her, because commonly so called after Joseph's death; and probably (as Gregory of Nyssa thinks²) known by that name all along, choosing that title that the Son of God, whom as a virgin she had brought forth, might be better concealed, and less exposed to the malice of the envious Jews: nor is it any more wonder, that she should be esteemed and called the 'mother of James,' than that Joseph should be styled and accounted the 'father of Jesus. To which add, that Josephus, eminently skilful in matters of genealogy and descent, expressly says, that our St. James was the 'brother of Jesus Christ.'³ One thing there is that may seem to lie against it, that he is called 'the son of Alphæus.' But this may probably mean no more, than either that Joseph was so called by another name, (it being frequent, yea, almost constant among the Jews for the same person to have two names; *Quis unquam prohibuerit duobus vel tribus nominibus hominem unum vocari?* as St. Augustin speaks

¹ Matth. xxvii. 56; Mark xiv. 40.

Μαριάμ τὴν Ἰακώβες καὶ Ἰωσῆ μητέρα παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Εὐαγγελιστῶν ὀνομασμένην, τὴν Θεοτόκον εἶναι καὶ ἐκ ἄλλην πεπιστύκαμεν.—Greg. Nyssen. loc. supr. laud. John, xix. 25.

² Ubi supr.

³ Antiquit. Jud. lib. xx. c. 8, p. 698; Matth. x. 3.

in a parallel case,¹⁾ or (as a learned man conjectures²⁾) it may relate to his being a disciple of some particular sect or synagogue among the Jews, called Alphæans; from אַלְפָאָן, denoting a family or society of devout and learned men of somewhat more eminency than the rest, there being, as he tells us, many such at this time among the Jews; and in this probably St. James had entered himself, the great reputation of his piety and strictness, his wisdom, parts, and learning rendering the conjecture above the censure of being trifling and contemptible.

3. Of the place of his birth the sacred story makes no mention. The Jews, in their Talmud,³⁾ (for doubtless they intend the same person,) style him more than once איש כפָד סִכְנִיא “a man of the town of Sechania;” though where that was, I am not able to conjecture. What was his particular way and course of life before his being called to the discipleship and apostolate, we find no intimations of in the history of the gospel, nor is there any distinct account concerning him during our Saviour’s life. After the resurrection he was honoured with a particular appearance of our Lord to him, which though silently passed over by the evangelists, is recorded by St. Paul, next to the manifesting himself to the five hundred brethren at once, ‘he was seen of James,’⁴⁾ which is by all understood of our apostle. St. Jerome,⁵⁾ out of the Hebrew gospel of

¹⁾ De Consens. Evangel. lib. ii. c. 28, col. 432.

²⁾ Bolduc. de Eccl. post. leg. c. 7, p. 47.

³⁾ Midr. Kobel. et Abod Zarah. cap. 2, et Glossa En Mischp. vid. Chr. Nold. Hist. Idum. p. 394

⁴⁾ 1 Cor. xv. 7.

⁵⁾ De Script. Eccles. in Jacob. min.

the Nazarenes, (wherein many passages are set down, omitted by the evangelical historians,) gives us a fuller relation of it: viz. that St. James had solemnly sworn, that from the time that he had drunk of the cup at the institution of the supper, he would eat bread no more till he saw the Lord risen from the dead. Our Lord therefore being returned from the grave, came and appeared to him, commanded bread to be set before him, which he took, blessed, and brake, and gave to St. James, saying, ‘ Eat thy bread, my brother, for the Son of man is truly risen from among them that sleep.’ After Christ’s ascension, (though I will not adventure to determine the precise time,) he was chosen bishop of Jerusalem, preferred before all the rest, for his near relation unto Christ; for this we find to have been the reason why they chose Symeon to be his immediate successor in that see, because he was after him our Lord’s next kinsman.¹ A consideration that made Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, though they had been peculiarly honoured by our Saviour, not to contend for this high and honourable place, but freely chose James the Just to be bishop of it.² This dignity is, by some of the ancients, said to have been conferred on him by Christ himself, constituting him bishop at the time of his appearing to him.³ But it is safest, with others, to understand it of its being done by the apostles, or possibly by some particular intimation concerning it, which our Lord might leave behind him.

4. To him we find St. Paul making his address

¹ Hegesip. apud Euseb. lib. iv. c. 22, p. 142.

² Clem. Al. Hypot. lib. v. ap. Euseb. lib. ii. c. 1, p. 38.

³ Phot. Ep. 117, ad Theodos. I, Monach. p. 158; Theophyl. in 1, ad Cor. xv. 7; vid. Euseb. lib. vii. c. 13, p. 265.

after his conversion, by whom he was honoured with the right-hand of fellowship.¹ To him Peter sent the news of his miraculous deliverance out of prison: ‘Go shew these things unto James, and to the brethren;’² that is, to the whole church, and especially St. James, the bishop and pastor of it. But he was principally active in the synod at Jerusalem, in the great controversy about the Mosaic rites: for the case being opened by Peter, and further debated by Paul and Barnabas, at last stood up St. James to pass the final and decretory sentence, that the Gentile converts were not to be troubled with the bondage of the Jewish yoke, only that for a present accommodation some few indifferent rites should be observed; ushering in the expedient with this positive conclusion: διὸ ἔγὼ κρίνω, I thus judge or decide the matter; ‘this is my sentence’ and determination.³ A circumstance the more considerable, because spoken at the same time when Peter was in council, who produced no such intimation of his authority.⁴ Had the champions of the church of Rome but such a passage for Peter’s judiciary authority and power, it would no doubt have made a louder noise in the world, than ‘Thou art Peter,’ or ‘Feed my sheep.’

5. He administered his province with all possible

¹ Gal. i. 19; ii. 9.

² Acts, xii. 17.

³ Acts, xv. 13.

⁴ Μετὰ Πέτρου Παῦλος φθεγγεται, καὶ ὅδεις ἐπισομιζει. Ιάκωβος ἀνέχεται, καὶ ἐκ ἀποπηδᾶ ἐκεῖνος γάρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγκεχειρισμένος. — Chrysost. Homil. in Act. App. p. 676. Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ, ἀλλ’ Ιάκωβος νομοθετεῖ, καὶ ὀλίγα λέξεις τὸ τόπον ζητήματος συνέσειλαν μέγεθος. Ἐγὼ κρίνω, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀθετεῖν ἐθέμις, ὅτε φανδιζειν τὸ ψῆφισμα.—Hesych. Presb. Hierosol. Serm. in Jac. apud Phot. Cod. clxxv. col. 525.

care and industry, omitting no part of a diligent and faithful guide of souls; strengthening the weak, informing the ignorant, reducing the erroneous, reproofing the obstinate, and by the constancy of his preaching, conquering the stubbornness of that perverse and refractory generation that he had to deal with; many of the nobler and better sort being brought over to a compliance with the Christian faith. So careful, so successful in his charge, that he awakened the spite and malice of his enemies to conspire his ruin;¹ a sort of men of whom the apostle has given too true a character, ‘that they please not God, and are contrary to all men.’ Vexed they were to see that St. Paul, by appealing to Cæsar,² had escaped their hands; (malice is as greedy and insatiable as hell itself;) and they therefore now turn their revenge upon St. James, which not being able to effect under Festus’s government, they more effectually attempted under the procuratorship of Albinus’s successor, Ananus the younger, then high-priest, and of the sect of the Sadducees, (*περὶ τὰς λρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τὰς Ἰεδαιές*, says Josephus,³ speaking of this very passage, of all others the most merciless and implacable justicers,) resolving to dispatch him before the new governor could arrive. To this end a council is hastily summoned, and the apostle with some others arraigned and condemned as violators of the law. But that the thing might be carried in a more plausible and popular way, they set the Scribes and Pharisees (crafts-masters in the arts of dissimulation) at work to ensnare him, who com-

¹ Euseb. lib. ii. c. 23, p. 64.

² Id. ib. p. 63.

³ Josephus Antiquit. Jud lib. xx. c. 8, p. 698.

ing to him, began by flattering insinuations to set upon him. They tell him, that they all had a mighty confidence in him, and that the whole nation as well as they gave him the testimony of a most just man, and one that was no respecter of persons; that therefore, they desired he would correct the error and false opinion which the people had of Jesus, whom they looked upon as the Messiah, and would take this opportunity of the universal confluence to the paschal solemnity, to set them right in their notions about these things; and would, to that end, go up with them to the top of the temple, where he might be seen and heard by all. Being advantageously placed upon a pinnacle or wing of the temple, they made this address to him. "Tell us, O Justus, whom we have all the reason in the world to believe, that seeing the people are thus generally led away with the doctrine of Jesus that was crucified, tell us, what is this institution of the crucified Jesus?" To which the apostle answered with an audible voice: "Why do ye inquire of Jesus the Son of man? he sits in heaven on the right hand of the majesty on high, and will come again in the clouds of heaven." The people below hearing it, glorified the blessed Jesus, and openly proclaimed "Hosanna to the Son of David." The Scribes and Pharisees perceived now that they had overshot themselves, and that instead of reclaiming they had confirmed the people in their error; that there was no way left, but presently to dispatch him, that by his sad fate others might be warned not to believe him. Whereupon suddenly crying out, that Justus himself was seduced and become an impostor, they threw him down from the place where he stood; though bruised, he was not killed

by the fall, but recovered so much strength, as to get upon his knees, and pray to heaven for them.¹ Malice is of too bad a nature either to be pacified with kindness, or satisfied with cruelty; jealousy is not more the rage of a man than malice is the rage of the devil, the very soul and spirit of the apostate nature. Little portions of revenge do but inflame it, and serve to flesh it up into a fiercer violence. Vexed that they had not done his work, they fell fresh upon the poor remainders of his life; and while he was yet at prayer, and that a Rechabite, who stood by, (which, says Epiphanius,² was Symeon, his kinsman and successor,) stepped in, and entreated them to spare him, a just and a righteous man, and who was then praying for them, they began to load him with a shower of stones, till one more mercifully cruel than the rest, with a fuller's club beat out his brains. Thus died this good man in the ninety-sixth year of his age, and about twenty-four years after Christ's ascension into heaven, (as Epiphanius tells us;³) being taken away, to the great grief and regret of all good men; yea, of all sober and just persons even amongst the Jews themselves; ὅσοι δε ἐδόκεν ἐπιεκέσατο τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τὸς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τέτω, as Josephus himself confesses,⁴ speaking of this matter. He was buried (says Gregory, bishop of Tours⁵) upon Mount Olivet, in a tomb which he had built for himself, and wherein he had buried Zacharias and old Symeon; which I am rather inclinable to believe than what

¹ Hegesip. Comment. lib. v. apud Euseb. lib. ii. c. 23. p. 64.

² Hæres. 78, p. 441.

³ Epiph. ibid.

⁴ Antiquit. Jud. lib. xx. c. 8, p. 698.

⁵ De glor. Martyr. lib. i. c. 27, p. 33.

Hegesippus reports,¹ that he was buried near the temple in the place of his martyrdom, and that a monument was there erected for him, which remained a long time after; for the Jews were not ordinarily wont to bury within the city, much less so near the temple; and least of all would they suffer him, whom as a blasphemer and impostor they had so lately put to death.

6. He was a man of exemplary and extraordinary piety and devotion, educated under the strictest rules and institutions of religion, a priest (as we may probably guess) of the ancient order of the Rechabites; or rather, as Epiphanius conjectures,² κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἱερωσύνην, “according to the most ancient order and form of priesthood,” when the sacerdotal office was the prerogative of the first-born; and such was St. James, the eldest son of Joseph, and thereby sanctified and set apart for it. Though, whether this way of priesthood at any time held under the Mosaic dispensation, we have no intimations in the holy story. But, however he came by it, upon some such account it must be that he had a privilege (which the ancients say was peculiar to him,³ probably because more frequently made use of by him than by any others) to enter εἰς τὰ ἄγια; not into the ‘sancta sanctorum,’ or ‘most holy of all,’ but the ‘sanctuary,’ or ‘holy place,’ whither the priests of the Aaronical order might come. Prayer was his constant business and delight; he seemed to live upon it, and to trade in nothing but the frequent returns of converse with heaven; and was therefore wont to retire alone into the temple to

¹ Ap. Euseb. lib. ii. c. 23, p. 65.

² Contr. Nazar. Hæres. xxix. p. 56.

³ Hegesip. apud. Euseb. loc. laudat. p. 63, Epiphan. ibid.

pray, which he always performed kneeling, and with the greatest reverence, till by his daily devotions his knees were become as hard and brawny as a camel's. And he who has told us, that 'the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much,'¹ himself found it true by his own experience, heaven lending a more immediate ear to his petitions; so that when in a time of great drought he prayed for rain, the heavens presently melted into fruitful showers. Nor was his charity towards men less than his piety towards God; he did good to all, watched over men's souls, and studied to advance their eternal interests; his daily errand into the temple was to pray for the happiness of the people, and that God would not severely reckon with them: he could forgive his fiercest enemies, and 'overcome evil with good': when thrown from the top of the temple, he made use of all the breath he had left in him, only to send up this petition to heaven for the pardon of his murderers: "I beseech thee, O Lord God, heavenly Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

7. He was of a most meek humble temper, honouring what was excellent in others, concealing what was valuable in himself; the eminency of his relation, and the dignity of his place, did not exalt him in lofty thoughts above the measures of his brethren, industriously hiding whatever might set him up above the rest. Though he was our Lord's brother, yet in the inscription of the epistle he styles himself but the 'servant of the Lord Jesus, not so much as giving himself the title of an apostle. His temperance was admirable; he wholly ab-

¹ Jam. v. 17; Epiph. Hæres. lxxviii. p. 441.

stained from flesh, and drank neither wine nor strong drink, nor ever used the bath. His holy and mortified mind was content with the meanest accommodations; he went bare-foot, and never wore other than linen garments. Indeed, he lived after the strictest rules of the Nazarite order; and as the mitre, or sacerdotal plate, (*τὸ πέταλον* the ancients call it¹) which he wore upon his head, evinced his priesthood, which was rather after Melchisedeck's, or the priesthood of the first-born, than the Aaronical order; so his never shaving his head, nor using unguents, his habit and diet, and the great severity of his life, showed him to appertain to the Nazarite institution, to which he was holy, (says Hegesippus,) or consecrated from his mother's womb. A man of that divine temper that he was the love and wonder of his age; and for the reputation of his holy and religious life was universally styled, James the Just. Indeed, the safety and happiness of the nation was reckoned to depend upon his prayers and interest in heaven, which gained him the honourable title of Oblias or Ozliam,² the “defence” and “fortress of the people;” as if, when he was gone, their garrisons would be dismantled, and their strength laid level with the ground. And so we find it was, when some few years after his death the Roman army broke in upon them, and turned all into blood and ruin.

¹ Epiph. Hæres. xxix. p. 56; ex Clem. Al. et Euseb. Hæres. lxxviii. p. 441.

² Διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτῷ ἐκαλεῖτο Δίκαιος καὶ Ὡζλίας ὃ ἐσιν Ἑλληνιστὶ περιοχὴ τῇ λαῷ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη. — Hunc Hegesippi locum feliciter sane emendat et restituit N. Fullerus noster. Διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐκαλεῖτο Σαδδίκ, καὶ Ὡζλίαμ, ὃ ἐσιν Ἑλληνιστὶ, Δίκαιος καὶ περιοχὴ τῇ λαῷ. — Miscellan. Sacr. lib. iii. c. 1.

And what wonder if the judgments of God like a flood come rolling in upon a nation, when the sluices are plucked up, and the Moses taken away that before stood in the gap to keep them out? ‘Elisha died, and a band of the Moabites invaded the land.’¹ In short, he was the delight of all good men, in so much favour and estimation with the people, that they used to flock after him,² and strive who should touch, though it were but the hem of his garment; his very episcopal chair, wherein he used to sit, being (as Eusebius informs us³) carefully preserved, and having a kind of veneration paid to it, even unto his time: loved and honoured, not by his friends only, but by his enemies; the Jews in their Talmud,⁴ mentioning James as a worker of miracles in the name of “Jesus his master;” yea, the wisest of them looked upon his martyrdom as the inlet to all those miseries and calamities that soon after flowed in upon them.⁵ Sure I am, that Josephus⁶ particularly reckons the death of this St. James as that which more immediately alarmed the divine vengeance, and hastened the universal ruin and destruction of that nation.

8. He wrote only one epistle, probably not long before his martyrdom, as appears by some passages in it relating to the near approaching ruin of the Jewish nation. He directed it to the Jewish converts, dispersed up and down those eastern countries, to comfort them under sufferings, and confirm them against error. He saw a great degeneracy

¹ 2 Kings, xiii. 20.

² Hieron. Com. in. c. 1, ad Gal. p. 165, tom. ix.

³ H. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 19, p. 295.

⁴ Vid. supr. num. 3.

⁵ Euseb. lib. ii. c. 23, p. 65.

⁶ Verba ejus cit. Euseb. loc. laudat.

and declension of manners coming on, and that the purity of the Christian faith began to be undermined by the loose doctrines and practices of the Gnostics, who under a pretence of zeal for the legal rites, generally mixed themselves with the Jews; he beheld libertinism marching on apace, and the way to heaven made soft and easy, men declaiming against good works, as useless and unnecessary; and asserting a naked belief of the Christian doctrine to be sufficient to salvation. Against these the apostle opposes himself, presses purity, patience, and charity, and all the virtues of a good life; and by undeniable arguments envinces, that that faith only that carries along with it obedience and a holy life, can justify us before God, and entitle us to eternal life. Besides this epistle, there is a kind of preparatory gospel ascribed to him, published under the name of ΠΡΩΤΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, (still extant at this day,) containing the descent, birth, and first originals of Christ, and the virgin Mary; at the end whereof the author pretends to have written it at a time when Herod having raised a great tumult in Jerusalem, he was forced to retire into the wilderness. But, though in many things consistent enough with the history of the gospel, yet has it ever been rejected as spurious and apocryphal, forged in that licentious age, when men took the boldness to stamp any writing with the name of an apostle.¹

¹ The character given of St. James by Josephus and others, affords a very valuable, because undesigned testimony to the truth of the Gospel. He was not only devout, but singularly pure and upright in his conversation; and if the perception and love of truth have anything to do with the moral character, he was thus especially qualified for determining what degree of credit ought to be given to the claims of Christ.

ST. SIMON THE ZEALOT.

ST. SIMON the apostle was, as some think, one of the four brothers of our Saviour, sons of Joseph by his former marriage,¹ though no other evidence appear for it, but that there was a Simon, one of the number; too infirm a foundation to build any thing more on than a mere conjecture. In the catalogue of the apostles he is styled Simon the Canaanite; whence some, led by no other reason that I know of than the bare sound of the name, have concluded him born at Cana in Galilee; as for the same reason others have made him the bridegroom,² at whose marriage our Lord was there present, when he honoured the solemnity with his first miracle, turning water into wine. But this word has no relation to his country, or the place from whence he borrowed his original, as plainly descending from Σαρπ or Σαρραπ, which signifies zeal, and denotes a hot and sprightly temper.³ Therefore what some of the evangelists call Canaanite, others

¹ Matth. x. 4; Mark, iii. 18.

² Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. viii. c. 30, 696.

³ Luke, vi. 15; Acts, i. 13.

rendering the Hebrew by the Greek word, style Simon Zelotes, or the Zealot: so called, not (as Nicephorus thinks¹) from his burning zeal, and ardent affection to his master, and his eager desire to advance his religion in the world, but from his warm active temper, and zealous forwardness in some particular way and profession of religion before his coming to our Saviour

2. For the better understanding of this we are to know, that as there were several sects and parties among the Jews, so was there one, either a distinct sect, or at least a branch of the Pharisees, called the sect of the Zealots: they were mighty assertors of the honour of the law, and the strictness and purity of religion, assuming a liberty to themselves to question notorious offenders, without staying for the ordinary formalities of law; nay, when they thought good, and when the case required, executing capital vengeance upon them.² Thus when a blasphemer cursed God by the name of any idol, (says Maimonides³) the קְנָאִים, or Zealots that next met him might immediately kill him, without ever bringing him before the Sanhedrim. They looked upon themselves as the successors of Phineas, who in a mighty passion for the honour of God, did immediate execution upon Zimri and Cozbi: an act which was ‘counted to him for righteousness unto all posterities for evermore’;⁴ and God was so well pleased with it, that he

¹ Ζηλωτὴς διὰ τὸν πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον διάπυρον, ζῆλον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας ἀκρίβειαν ὑνόμαζο — H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 40, p. 202.

² Ζηλωταὶ, παρὰ ἱεραῖς οἱ τὰ νόμου φύλακες.—Suid. in voc. Ζηλωταί.

De Idol. c. 2. sect. 12, p. 19.

⁴ Psal. cvi. 31.

made 'with him and his seed after him the covenant of an everlasting priesthood, because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for Israel.'¹ In imitation whereof these men took upon them to execute judgment in extraordinary cases, and that not only by the connivance, but with the leave both of the rulers and the people; till in after times, under a pretence of this, their zeal degenerated into all manner of licentiousness and wild extravagance, and they not only became the pests of the commonwealth at home, but opened the door for the Romans to break in upon them, to their final and irrecoverable ruin; they were continually prompting the people to throw off the Roman yoke, and vindicate themselves into their native liberty; and when they had turned all things into hurry and confusion, themselves in the mean while fished in these troubled waters. Josephus gives a large account of them, and every where bewails them as the great plague of the nation. He tells us of them, that they scrupled not to rob any, to kill many of the prime of the nobility, under pretence of holding correspondence with the Romans, and betraying the liberty of their country; openly glorying, that herein they were the benefactors and saviours of the people.² They abrogated the succession of ancient families, thrusting obscure and ignoble persons into the high-priest's office, that so they might oblige the most infamous villains to their party; and as if not content to injure men, they affronted heaven, and proclaimed defiance to the Divinity itself, breaking

¹ Num. xxv. 11—13.

² De Bell. Jud. lib. iv. κεφ ιά. ε. p. 871, et seq.

into and profaning the most holy place. Styling themselves Zealots, (says he) ‘as if their undertakings were good and honourable, while they were greedy and emulous of the greatest wickedness, and outdid the worst of men.’ Many attempts were made, especially by Annas the high-priest, to reduce them to order and sobriety. But neither force of arms, nor fair and gentle methods could do any good upon them; they held out, and went on in their violent proceedings, and joining with the Idumeans, committed all manner of outrage, slaying the high-priests themselves. Nay, when Jerusalem was straitly besieged by the Roman army, they ceased not to create tumults and factions within, and were indeed the main cause of the Jews ill success in that fatal war. It is probable, that all that went under the notion of this sect were not of this wretched and ungovernable temper, but that some of them were of a better make, of a more sober and peaceable disposition. And as it is not to be doubted but that our Simon was of this sect in general, so there is reason to believe he was of the better sort. However, this makes no more reflection upon his being called to the apostleship, than it did for St. Matthew, who was before a publican, or St. Paul’s being a Pharisee, and so zealously persecuting the church of God.

3. Being invested in the apostolical office, no further mention appears of him in the history of the gospel. Continuing with the apostles till their dispersion up and down the world, he then applied himself to the execution of his charge. He is said to have directed his journey towards Egypt, thence to Cyrene, and Africk, (this indeed Baronius is

not willing to believe, being desirous that St. Peter should have the honour to be the first that planted Christianity in Africk¹) and throughout Mauritania and all Libya, preaching the gospel to those remote and barbarous countries.² Nor could the coldness of the climate benumb his zeal, or hinder him from shipping himself and the Christian doctrine over to the western islands, yea, even to Britain itself. Here he preached and wrought many miracles; and after infinite troubles and difficulties which he underwent, (if we may believe our authors, whom, though Baronius³ in this case makes no great account of, yet never scruples freely to use their verdict and suffrage when they give in evidence to his purpose,) suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ, as is not only affirmed by Nicephorus⁴ and Dorotheus,⁵ but expressly owned in the Greek Menologies;⁶ where we are told, that he went at last into Britain, and having enlightened the minds of many with the doctrine of the gospel, was crucified by the infidels, and buried there.

4. I know indeed, that there want not those who tell us, that after his preaching the gospel in Egypt, he went into Mesopotamia, where he met with St. Jude the apostle, and together with him took his journey into Persia, where having gained a considerable harvest to the Christian faith, they were both crowned with martyrdom;⁷ which Baronius

¹ Ad Ann. 44, n. 38.

² Niceph. loc. supra laudat.

³ Ubi supra.

⁴ Niceph ib.

⁵ Doroth. in Synops. de vit. App. p. 148.

⁶ "Υπερον δε ἐν Βρετανίᾳ γενόμενος, καὶ πολλὰς τῷ λόγῳ τῷ εὐαγγελίᾳ φωτίσας, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων σαυρωθεὶς θάπτεται ἐκεῖ.—Menolog. Græc. ad diem 10 Maii.

Vid. Breviar. Roman. ad diem 28 Octobr. et Martyrol. Rom. ad eund. diem, et Baron. Not. ibid. vid. illum ad Ann. 68, n. 7.

himself confesses to be founded on no better authority than the "Passions of the Apostles," a book which at every turn he rejects as trifling and impertinent, as false and fabulous. But wide is the mistake of those who confound our apostle with Symeon the son of Cleophas, successor to St. James the Just in the see of Jerusalem, who was crucified in the hundred and twentieth year of his age, in the persecution under Trajan: ¹ the different character of their persons, and the account both of their acts and martyrdoms being sufficiently distinguished in the writings of the church.

¹ Sophron. apud Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Simone. Isidor. de vit. et obit. SS. utriusque T. cap. 83.

S T. J U D E.

THERE are three several names by which this apostle is described in the history of the gospel : Jude, Thaddeus, and Lebbæus, it being usual in the holy volumes for the same person to have more proper names than one. For the first, it was a name common amongst the Jews, recommended to them as being the name of one of the great patriarchs of their nation. This name he seems to have changed afterwards for Thaddeus, a word springing from the same root, and of the very same import and signification, which might arise from a double cause ; partly from the superstitious veneration which the Jews had for the name Jehova, (the nomen *τετραγράμματον*, or name consisting of four letters,) which they held unlawful to be pronounced by any but the high-priest ; and not by him even, but at the most solemn times. Hence it was, that when any man had a name, wherein there was the major part of the letters of this ineffable title, (and such was Jehuda, or Juda,) they would not rashly pronounce it in common usage, but chose rather to mould it into another

like it, and of the same importance, or that which had a near affinity and resemblance with it: partly from a particular dislike of the name of Judas among the apostles, the bloody and treasonable practices of Judas Iscariot having rendered that name very odious and detestable to them. To prevent therefore all possibility of mistake, and that they might not confound the righteous with the wicked, St. Matthew and Mark never call him by this, but by some other name, as no question for the same reason he both styles himself, and is frequently called by others, ‘Judas the brother of James;’¹ and that this was one great design of it, the evangelist plainly intimates, when speaking of him, he says, ‘Judas, not Iscariot.’ For his name Lebbæus, it seems to have been derived either from לב a heart, whence St. Jerome renders it Corculum, probably to denote his wisdom and prudence; or else from לֵב a lion, and therein to have respect to old Jacob’s prophecy concerning Judah: ‘That he should be as a lion, an old lion, and as a lion’s whelp;’ which probably might have a main stroke in fastening this name upon St. Jude. From this patriarchal prophecy, we are told, that one of the schools or synagogues of learned men among the Jews (who, to avoid confusion, were wont to distinguish themselves by different appellations) took occasion to denominate themselves Labii, as accounting themselves the scholars and descendants of this lion-like son of Jacob; and that St. Jude was of this society, and because of his eminency among them, retained the title of Labius, or as it was corruptly pronounced, Lebbæus.² I confess

¹ John, xiv. 22.

² Bolduc. de Eccl. post leg. cap. 7, p. 47, 48.

I should have thought the conjecture of a learned man very probable, that he might have derived this name from the place of his nativity, as being born at Lebba,¹ a town, which he tells us, Pliny speaks of, in the province of Galilee, not far from Carmel;² but that it is not Lebba, but Jebba in all copies of Pliny that I have seen. But let the reader please himself in which conjecture he likes best.

2. For his descent and parentage, he was of our Lord's kindred, Nicephorus truly making him the son of Joseph, and brother to James, bishop of Jerusalem;³ that there was a Jude one of the number is very evident: 'Are not his brethren James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas?' which makes me the more to wonder at Scaliger, who so confidently denies that any of the evangelists ever mention a "Jude the brother of our Lord." St. Jerome seems often to confound him with Simon the Zealot, whose title he ascribes to him; though second thoughts set him right, as indeed common advertency could do no less, so plain is the account which the evangelists give of this matter. When called to the discipleship we find not, as not meeting with him till we find him enumerated in the catalogue of apostles; nor is any thing particularly recorded of him afterwards, more than one question that he propounded to our Saviour, who having told them what great things he and his Father would do, and what particular manifestations after his resurrection he would make of him-

¹ Lightf. H. Hebr. in Matth. p. 147.

² Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 19.

³ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 40, p. 202; Matth. xiii. 55; Anti-madv. in Euseb. Chron. ad Num. MMCIIL. p. 205.

self to his sincere disciples and followers, St. Jude, (whose thoughts as well as the rest were taken up with the expectations of a temporal kingdom of the Messiah,) not knowing how this could consist with the public solemnity of that glorious state they looked for, asked him, what was the reason that he would manifest himself to them, and not to the world ?¹ Our Lord replied, that the world was not capable of these divine manifestations, as being a stranger and an enemy to what should fit them for fellowship with heaven ; that they were only good men, persons of a divine temper of mind, and religious observers of his laws and will, whom God would honour with these familiar converses, and admit to such particular acts of grace and favour.

3. Eusebius relates,² that soon after our Lord's ascension, St. Thomas dispatched Thaddeus, the apostle, to Abgarus, governor of Edessa, where he healed diseases, wrought miracles, expounded the doctrines of Christianity, and converted Abgarus and his people to the faith : for all which pains, when the toparch offered him vast gifts and presents, he refused them with a noble scorn, telling him, they had little reason to receive from others, what they had freely relinquished and left themselves. A large account of this whole affair is extant in Eusebius, translated by him out of Syriac, from the records of the city of Edessa. This Thaddeus St. Jerome expressly makes to be our St. Jude,³ though his bare authority is not in this case sufficient evi-

¹ John, xiv. 22. ² H. Eccl. lib. i. c. 13, p. 32.
³ Comment. in Matth. c. 10.

dence; especially since Eusebius makes him no more than one of the seventy disciples, which he would scarce have done, had he been one of the twelve. He calls him, indeed, an apostle, but that may imply no more than according to the large acceptance of the word, that he was a disciple, a companion, and an assistant to them, as we know the seventy eminently were. Nor is any thing more common in ancient ecclesiastic writers, than for the first planters and propagators of Christian religion in any country to be honoured with the name and title of apostles. But, however this be, at his first setting out to preach the gospel, he went up and down Judæa and Galilee, then through Samaria into Idumea, and to the cities of Arabia, and the neighbour countries; and after to Syria and Mesopotamia. Nicephorus adds, that he came at last to Edessa, where Abgarus was governor; and where the other Thaddæus, one of the seventy, had been before him.¹ Here he perfected what the other had begun; and having, by his sermons and miracles, established the religion of our Saviour, died a peaceable and a quiet death; though Dorotheus makes him slain at Berytus, and honourably buried there.² By the almost general consent of the writers of the Latin church, he is said to have travelled into Persia, where, after great success in his apostolical ministry for many years, he was at last, for his free and open reproof of the superstitious rites and usages of the Magi, cruelly put to death.

4. That he was one of the married apostles sufficiently appears from his *vivrioi*, or grandsons, men-

¹ Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 40, 202.

² Synops. de Vit. et Mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. tom. iii. p. 148.

tioned by Eusebius,¹ of whom Hegesippus gives this account. Domitian, the emperor, whose enormous wickedness had awakened in him the quickest jealousies, and made him suspect every one that might look like a co-rival in the empire, had heard that there were some of the line of David and Christ's kindred that did yet remain. Two grandchildren of St. Jude, the brother of our Lord, were brought before him; and having confessed that they were of the race and posterity of David, he asked what possessions and estate they had: they told him, that they had but a very few acres of land, out of the improvement whereof they both paid him tribute, and maintained themselves with their own hard labour, as by the hardness and callousness of their hands (which they then showed him) did appear. He then inquired of them concerning Christ, and the state of his kingdom, what kind of empire it was, and when and where it would commence. To which they replied, that his kingdom was not of this world, nor of the seigniories and dominions of it, but heavenly and angelical, and would finally take place in the end of the world; when coming with great glory, he would judge the quick and the dead, and award all men recompences according to their works. The issue was, that looking upon the meanness and simplicity of the men, as below his jealousies and fears, he dismissed them without any severity used against them; who being now beheld not only as kinsmen, but as martyrs of our Lord, were honoured by all, preferred to places of authority and government in the church, and lived till the times of Trajan.

¹ Apud. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 20, p. 89.

5. St. Jude left only one epistle of catholic and universal concernment, inscribed at large to all Christians. It was some time before it met with general reception in the church, or was taken notice of.¹ The author, indeed, styles not himself an apostle, but no more does St. James, St. John, nor sometimes St. Paul himself. And why should he fare the worse for his humility, only for calling himself the ‘servant of Christ,’ when he might have added not only ‘apostle’ but ‘the brother of our Lord?’ The best is, he has added what was equivalent, ‘Jude, the brother of James,’ a character that can belong to none but our apostle; besides, that the title of the epistle, which is of great antiquity, runs thus, ‘The general Epistle of Jude the Apostle.’ One great argument, as St. Jerome informs us,² against the authority of this epistle of old, was its quoting a passage out of an apocryphal book of Enoch. This book, called the “Apocalypse of Enoch,” was very early extant in the church, frequently mentioned, and passages were cited out of it by Irenæus, Tertullian,³ Clemens Alexandrinus, Origin, and others, some of whom accounted it little

¹ Euseb. lib. ii. c. 23, p. 66, et lib. iii. c. 25.

² De Script. Eccl. in Juda.

³ “Scio Scripturam Enoch, quæ hunc ordinem angelis dedit, non recipi à quibusdam, quia nec in Armarium Judaicum admittitur. Opinor non putaverunt illam ante Cataclysum editam, post eum casum orbis omnium rerum abolitorem, salvam esse potuisse. Si ista ratio est, recordentur, &c. Sed cum Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino prædicarit, à nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertineat ad nos. A Judæis potest jam videri propterea rejecta, sicut et cætera ferè quæ Christum sonant. Èò accidit quod Enoch apud Judam apostolum testimonium possidet.”—Tertul. de Cult. Fœmin. lib. i. c. 3. p. 151. Vid. Hieron. Comment. in Tit. c. 1, p. 249, tom. ix.

less than canonical. But what, if our apostle had it not out of this apocryphal book, but from some prophecy current from age to age, handed to him by common tradition, or immediately revealed to him by the Spirit of God? But suppose it taken out of that book going under Enoch's name; this makes nothing against the authority of the epistle; every thing, I hope, is not presently false, that is contained in an aprocryphal and uncanonical writing; nor does the taking a single testimony out of it any more infer the apostle's approbation of all the rest, than St. Paul's quoting a good sentence or two out of Menander, Aratus, and Epimenides, imply that he approved all the rest of the writings of those heathen poets. And indeed nothing could be more fit and proper than this way, if we consider that the apostle in this epistle chiefly argues against the Gnostics, who mainly traded in such traditionary and apocryphal writings, and probably in this very book of Enoch. The same account may be given of that other passage in this epistle, concerning the contention between Michael, the archangel, and the devil, about the burial of Moses's body, no where extant in the holy records, supposed to have been taken out of a Jewish writing, called *פְּטִירַת מֹשֶׁה*, or the "Dismission of Moses," mentioned by some of the Greek fathers, under the title of *'Αράβασις Μωσέως*,¹ or "Ascension of Moses," in which this passage was upon record. Nor is it

¹ "De quo in ascensione Moysi (cujus libelli meminit in epistola apostolus Judas) Michael archangelus cum diabolo disputans de corpore Moysi, ait diabolo, inspiratum serpentem causam extitisse prævaricationis Adæ et Evæ."—Origen περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. c. 2, fol. 142, p. 2.

Plurimi erant alii libri antiquitatis sub nomine Mosis conficti, et in iis liber dictus *'Αράγητος Μωσέως*, memoratus Athan.

any more a wonder, that St. Jude should do this, than that St. Paul should put down Jannes and Jambres for the two magicians of Pharaoh that opposed Moses, which he must either derive from tradition, or fetch out of some uncanonical author of those times, there being no mention of their names in Moses's relation of that matter. But be these passages whence they will, it is enough for us, that the Spirit of God has made them authentic, and consecrated them part of the holy canon.

6. Being thus satisfied in the canonicalness of this epistle, none but St. Jude could be the author of it; for who but he was the brother of St. James? a character by which he is described in the evangelical story more than once. Grotius, indeed, will needs have it written by a younger Jude, the fifteenth bishop of Jerusalem, in the reign of Adrian;¹ and because he saw that that passage, ‘the brother of James,’ stood full in his way, he concludes, without any shadow of reason, that it was added by some transcriber. But is not this to make too bold with sacred things? is not this to indulge too great a liberty? This once allowed, it will soon open a door to the wildest and most extravagant conjectures, and no man shall know where to find sure footing for his faith. But the reader may remember, what we have elsewhere observed concerning the post-hume annotations of that learned man. Not to say that there are many things in this epistle that evidently refer to the time of this apostle, and imply it to have been written upon the same occasion, and about the same time with the second epistle of

in Synops. S. Script. tom. ii p. 134, confer quæ ex hoc libro
habet Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. vi. p. 679, 680.

¹ Annot. in itin. Epist. Jud.

Peter, between which and this there is a very great affinity both in words and matter; nay, there want not some that endeavour to prove this epistle to have been written no less than twenty-seven years before that of Peter; and that hence it was, that Peter borrowed those passages that are so near akin to those in this epistle.¹ The design of the epistle is to preserve Christians from the infection of Gnosticism, the loose and debauched principles vented by Simon Magus and his followers, whose wretched doctrines and practices he briefly and elegantly represents, persuading Christians heartily ‘to contend for the faith that had been delivered to them;’ and to avoid these pernicious seducers as pests and firebrands, not to communicate with them in their sins, lest they perished with them in that terrible vengeance that was ready to overtake them.

¹ Bolduc. prælud. in Epist. Jud. p. 106, ad calcem lib. de Eccl. post. leg.

ST. MATTHIAS.

ST. MATTHIAS not being an apostle of the first election, immediately called and chosen by our Saviour, particular remarks concerning him are not to be expected in the history of the gospel. He was one of our Lord's disciples (and probably one of the seventy) that had attended on him the whole time of his public ministry, and after his death was elected into the apostleship upon this occasion. Judas Iscariot, (so called, probably, from the place of his nativity, אִישׁ קְרֵיוֹת, 'a man of Kerioth,' a city anciently situate in the tribe of Judah) had been one of the twelve, immediately called by Christ to be one of his intimate disciples, equally empowered and commissioned with the rest to preach and work miracles, 'was numbered with them, and had obtained part of their ministry ;' and yet all this while was a man of vile and corrupt design, branded with no meaner a character than thief and murderer: to let us see that there may be bad servants in Christ's own family, and that the wickedness of a minister does not evacuate his commission, nor render his office useless and ineffectual. The unworthiness of

the instrument hinders not the ends of the ministration : seeing the efficacy of an ordinance depends not upon the quality of the person, but the divine institution and the blessing which God has entailed upon it. Judas preached Christ, no doubt with zeal and fervency, and for any thing we know, with as much success as the rest of the apostles ; and yet he was a bad man, a man actuated by sordid and mean designs, one that had prostituted religion and the honour of his place to covetousness and evil arts. The love of money had so entirely possessed his thoughts, that his resolutions were bound for nothing but interest and advantage. ‘ But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare.’ This covetous temper betrayed him, as in the issue, to the most fatal end, so to the most desperate attempt, *ἄγτος τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον*,¹ as Origen calls the putting Christ to death, the most prodigious impiety that the sun ever shone on, the betraying his innocent Lord into the hands of those who he knew would treat him with all the circumstances of insolent scorn and cruelty. How little does kindness work upon a disingenuous mind ! It was not the honour of the place, to which, when thousands of others were passed by, our Lord had called him, the admitting him into a free and intimate fellowship with his person, the taking him to be one of his peculiar domestics and attendants, that could divert the wretch from his wicked purpose. He knew how desirous the great men of the nation were to get Christ into their hands, especially at the time of the passover, that he might, with the more public disgrace, be sacri-

¹ *Contr. Cels. lib. iv. p. 175.*

ficed before all the people, and therefore bargains with them, and for no greater a sum than under four pounds, to betray the ‘Lamb of God’ into the paws of these wolves and lions: in short, he heads the party, conducts the officers, and sees him delivered into their hands.

2. But there is an active principle in man’s breast, that seldom suffers daring sinners to pass in quiet to their graves: awakened with the horror of the fact, conscience began to rouse and follow close, and the man was unable to bear up under the furious revenges of his own mind: as indeed, all wilful and deliberate sins, and especially the guilt of blood, are wont more sensibly to alarm the natural notions of our minds, and to excite in us the fears of some present vengeance that will seize upon us. And how intolerable are those scourges that lash us in this vital and tender part? The spirit of the man sinks under him, and all supports snap asunder: as what ease or comfort can he enjoy, that carries a vulture in his bosom, always gnawing and preying upon his heart? which made Plutarch compare an evil conscience to a cancer in the breast, that perpetually gripes and stings the soul with the pains of an intolerable repentance.'

¹ Τὸ μεν συνειδὸς οὔεται ἔλκος ἐν σαρκὶ, τῷ ψυχῇ τὴν μεταμέλειαν αἰμάσσεσαν ἀεὶ καὶ νύσσεσαν ἐναπολείπει.—Plut. de Anim. tranquil. p. 476. ‘Αλλὰ τάδ’ ἐκτελέειν, ὡς σε μὴ μετέπειτ’ ἀνησηγή Pythag. in aur. carm. in quem locum hæc inter alia Hierocles, optima prorsus et huic loco satis apposita. Τί ὅφελος ἐπιορκίαις ἡ φόνοις, ἡ ἄλλαις τισὶ κακοπραγίαις λησασθαι χρήματα, καὶ πλευτεῖν τὰ ἔξω; καὶ πρὸς τόπο η ἀναισθήτως ἔχειν, καὶ δια τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐπιτείνειν τὸ κακόν η εἰς αἴσθησιν τῶν εἰργασμενῶν ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδῆσεως ἐλκόμενον τρεβλοῦσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ δειμαίνειν τὰ ἐν ἥδι κολοσήρια. καὶ μόνην ἰασιν εὐρίσκειν τὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι καταφυγὴν, ὅθεν αὐτῷ παρίσταται κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰασθαι. φθορῷ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν κακίαν παραμυθεμένῳ,

Guilt is naturally troublesome and uneasy ; it disturbs the peace and serenity of the mind, and fills the soul with storms and thunder. Did ‘ever any harden himself against God, and prosper?’¹ And, indeed, how should he, when God has such a powerful and invisible executioner in his own bosom ? Whoever rebels against the laws of his duty, and plainly affronts the dictates of his conscience, does that moment bid adieu to all true repose and quiet, and expose himself to the severe resentments of a self-tormenting mind. And though, by secret arts of wickedness, he may be able possibly to drown and stifle the voice of it for a while, yet every little affliction or petty accident will be apt to awaken it into horror, and to let in terror like an armed man upon him. A torment infinitely beyond what the most ingenious tyrants could ever contrive. Nothing so effectually invades our ease as the reproaches of our own minds. The wrath of man may be endured, but the irritations of conscience are irresistible ; it is *τῷ συνειδότι ἀπάγχεσθαι*, (as Chrysostom very elegantly styles it,) to be choked or strangled with an evil conscience, which oft reduces the man to such distresses, as to make him choose death rather than life. A sad instance of all which we have in this unhappy man ; who being wearied with furious and melancholy reflections upon what was past, threw back the wages of iniquity in open court, and dispatched himself

Ἐ τὴν μετὰ θάνατον ἀδέντιαν ἔανται καταψηφίζεσθαι φυγὴν τῶν τῆς κρίσεως πόνων ; & βέλεται γάρ ὁ κακὸς ἀθάνατον εἶναι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπομείνῃ τιμωρέμενος. Καὶ φθάνει τὸν ἐκεῖ δικαζῆν θάνατον ἔαντον καταψηφίζόμενος, ὡς πρέπον τὴν πονηρὰν ψυχὴν μηδὲν εἶναι ἀλλ' ἔτος μεν, ὡς ἀβολία πρὸς κακίαν ὑπενεχθείς, εἰκοτως ἀμετρίᾳ τὴν καθ' ἔαντος ψῆφον ἐκφέρει.—Hier. in Aur. Carm. p. 165.

¹ Job. ix. 4.

by a violent death : vainly hoping to take sanctuary in the grave, and that he should meet with that ease in another world which he could not find in this. ‘He departed, and went and hanged himself, and falling down burst asunder, and his bowels gushed out :’ leaving a memorable warning to all treacherous and ungrateful, to all greedy and covetous persons, not to let the world insinuate itself too far into them ; and indeed to all, ‘to watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation.’ Our present state is slippery and insecure ; ‘Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.’ What privileges can be a sufficient fence, a foundation firm enough to rely upon, when the miracles, sermons, favours, and familiar converses of Christ himself could not secure one of the apostles from so fatal an apostacy ?

3. A vacancy being thus made in the college of apostles ; the first thing they did after their return from Mount Olivet, where our Lord took his leave of them, to St. John’s house in Mount Sion, (the place, if we may believe Nicephorus,¹ where the church met together,) was to fill up their number with a fit, proper person. To which purpose Peter acquainted them, that Judas, according to the prophetical prediction, being fallen from his ministry, it was necessary that another should be substituted in his room ; one that had been a constant companion and disciple of the holy Jesus, and consequently capable of bearing witness to his life, death, and resurrection. Two were propounded in order to the choice, Joseph called Barsabas, and Justus, (whom some make the same with Joses, one of the brothers of our Lord,) and Matthias,

¹ H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 1, p. 131.

both duly qualified for the place. The way of election was by lots, a way frequently used both among Jews and Gentiles for the determination of doubtful and difficult cases, and especially the choosing judges and magistrates; and this way was here taken (says one of the ancients¹) on purpose to comply with the old custom observed among the Jews, that in the election of an apostle, they might not seem to depart from the way that had been used under the legal state. The pseudo Dionysius, author of the Ecclesiastic Hierarchy,² together with his two paraphrasts,³ expressly says, that it was not a lot that was used in this case, to determine the matter; but Θεαρχικόν τι δῶρον, or σύμβολόν τι ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως, some immediate and extraordinary sign from heaven, falling upon the candidate, and discovering him to be the person chosen by God. But this is directly contrary to the very words of the sacred story, which say, that ‘they gave forth the lots, and that the lot fell upon Matthias.’ And this course the apostles the rather took, because the Holy Ghost was not yet given,⁴ by whose immediate dictates and inspirations they were chiefly guided afterwards. And that the business might proceed with the greater regularity and success, they first solemnly make their address to heaven, that the omniscient Being that governed the world, and perfectly understood the tempers and dispositions of men, would immediately guide and direct the choice, and show which of these

¹ Ambros. in Luc. c. 1, p. 11.

² De Eccles. Hierarch. c. 5, § 5, p. 367.

³ Maxim. ib. p. 376; Pachym. p. 383.

⁴ Ἐδώκαν κλήρος αὐτῶν ὅδεπω γάρ πνεῦμα ἦν.—Chrysost. in loc.

two he would appoint to take that part of the apostolic charge, from which Judas was so lately fallen. The lots being put into the urn, Matthias's name was drawn out, and thereby the apostolate devolved upon him.

4. Not long after, the promised powers of the Holy Ghost were conferred upon the apostles, to fit them for that great and difficult employment, upon which they were sent; and among the rest St. Matthias betook himself to his charge and province. The first-fruits of his ministry he spent in Judæa, where having reaped a considerable harvest, he betook himself to other provinces. An author, I confess of no great credit in these matters, tells us, that he preached the gospel in Macedonia, where the Gentiles, to make an experiment of his faith and integrity, gave him a poisonous and intoxicating potion, which he cheerfully drank off, in the name of Christ, without the least prejudice to himself; and that when the same potion had deprived above two hundred and fifty of their sight, he laying his hands upon them, restored them to their sight;¹ with a great deal more of the same stamp, which I have neither faith enough to believe, nor leisure enough to relate. The Greeks, with more probability, report him to have travelled eastward; he came (says Nicephorus²) into the first, (says Sophronius³) into the second Æthiopia; and in both, I believe, it is a mistake, either of the authors or transcribers, for Cappadocia; his residence being principally near the eruption of the river Apsarus, and the haven Hyssus, both places in

¹ Petr. de Natal. Histor. Sanct. lib. iii. c. 149.

² H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 30, p. 203.

³ Ap. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Matthia.

Cappadocia. Nor is there any Æthiopia nearer those places than that conterminous to Chaldæa, whereof before. And as for those that tell us, that he might well enough preach both in the Asian and African Æthiopia; and that both might be comprehended under that general name, as the eastern and western parts of the world were heretofore contained under the general title of the Indias; it is a fancy without any other ground to stand on than their own bare conjecture. The place whither he came was very barbarous, and his usage was accordingly. For here meeting with a people of a fierce and untractable temper, he was treated by them with great rudeness and inhumanity, from whom, after all his labours and sufferings, and a numerous conversion of men to Christianity, he obtained at last the crown of martyrdom, ann. Chr. 61; or as others, 64. Little certainty can be retrieved concerning the manner of his death. Dorotheus will have him to die at Sebastople, and to be buried there, near the Temple of the Sun.¹ An ancient Martyrology reports him to have been seized by the Jews, and as a blasphemer to have been stoned, and then beheaded² But the Greek offices, seconded herein by several ancient breviaries, tell us that he was crucified; and that as Judas was hanged upon a tree, so Matthias suffered upon a cross.³ His body is said to have been

¹ Synops. de vit. App. in Bibl. Pp. tom. iii. p. 148.

² Colon. Impress. 1490, ad Febr. 24.

³ Εξῆλθεν ἀρθεις Ἰέδας ἐπὶ βροχε.

Εἰσῆλθεν ἀρθεις Ματθίας ἐπὶ ξύλῳ.

"Ηρθη ἀμφ' ἐνάτῃ ξύλῳ ιὐθεος Ματθίας.

Menæon Græco. ad diem 9 August. apud
Bolland. de vit SS. ad Febr. 24, tom.
iii. p. 433.

kept a long time at Jerusalem, thence thought to have been translated by Helen, the mother of the great Constantine, to Rome, where some parts of it are shown with great veneration at this day. Though others, with as great eagerness, and probably as much truth, contend that his relics were brought to, and are still preserved at Triers in Germany,¹ a controversy wherein I shall not concern myself. His memory is celebrated in the Greek church, August 9, as appears not only from their menologies, but from a novel constitution of Manuel Comnenus,² appointing what holy days should be kept in the church; while the western churches kept February 24, sacred to his memory. Among many other apocryphal writings attributed to the apostles, there was a gospel published under his name, mentioned by Eusebius³ and the ancients, and condemned with the rest by Gelasius,⁴ bishop of Rome, as it had been rejected by others before him. Under his name also there were extant traditions, cited by Clemens of Alexandria,⁵ from whence, no question, it was that the Nicolaitans borrowed that saying of his, which they abused to vile and beastly purposes; as under the pretended patronage of his name and doctrines, the Marcionites and Valentinians defended some of their most absurd and impious opinions.⁶

¹ Vid. Chr. Brower Annal. Treverens. lib. ii. p. 658, et scriptores ex utraque parte contendentes ap. Boll. loc. cit. p. 435.

² Extat in Jur. Gr. Rom. lib. ii. p. 161.

³ H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25, p. 97; Orig. in Luc. Hom. 10. Amb. præf. in Luc tom. v. p. 7.

⁴ Decr. Part i. Dist. 15, cap. Sanct. Rom. Sect. Cæterum.

⁵ Strom. lib. ii. p. 380; ibid. lib. iii. p. 436.

⁶ Ibid. lib. vii. p. 765.

There are many circumstances respecting St. Matthias which the Christian inquirer naturally regards with considerable interest. The holiness of a man chosen to fill up the number in the company of the peculiarly elected apostles must have been great and singular; while the manner in which he was elected and consecrated, affords, in the first place, a valuable instance of the mode in which these founders of the Christian church proceeded in the earliest exercise of their episcopal functions, if we may so speak; and in the next, an instance of divine interference well worthy of attention, and of comparison with the anointing of St. Paul to the apostolic office by the Redeemer: now exercising on his throne in heaven the same care for the propagating of his religion, as he did while visible on earth.—ED.

S T. M A R K

THE EVANGELIST.

S T. M A R K, though carrying something of Roman in his name, probably assumed by him upon some great change or accident of his life, or, which was not unusual among the Jews, when visiting the European provinces of the Roman empire, taken up at his going for Italy and Rome, was doubtless born of Jewish parents, originally descended of the tribe of Levi, and the line of the priesthood,¹ and (if Nicephorus says true,²) sister's son to Peter, though by others, against all reason, confounded with John, surnamed Mark, the son of Mary and Mark, sister's son to Barnabas. By the ancients he is generally thought to have been one of the seventy disciples; and Epiphanius expressly tells us, that he was one of those who taking exception at our Lord's discourse of ‘eating his flesh and drinking his blood, went back and walked no more with him;’ but was seasonably reduced and reclaimed by Peter.³ But no foundation appears either for the

¹ Hieron. præf. in Marc. tom. ix. p. 87.² H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 43, p. 209.³ Hæres. li. p. 186.

one or for the other; nay, Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who lived near those times, positively affirms that he was no hearer nor follower of our Saviour.¹ He was converted by some of the apostles, and probably by St. Peter, who is said to have been his undertaker at his baptism, (if I understand Isidore aright,²) for no other reason I suppose, but because he calls him his son. Indeed he was his constant attendant in his travels, supplying the place of an amanuensis and interpreter; for though the apostles were divinely inspired, and among other miraculous powers had the gift of languages conferred upon them, yet was the ‘interpretation of tongues’ a gift more peculiar to some than others. This might probably be St. Mark’s talent in expounding St. Peter’s discourses, whether by word or writing, to those who understood not the language wherein they were delivered. He accompanied him in his apostolical progress, preached the gospel in Italy and at Rome, where, at the request of the Christians of those parts, he composed and wrote his gospel.³

2. By Peter he was sent into Egypt to plant Christianity in those parts, fixing his main residence at Alexandria, and the places thereabouts; where so great (says Eusebius⁴) was the success of his ministry, that he converted multitudes both of men and women, not only to the embracing of the Christian religion, but to a more than ordinary strict profession of it, insomuch that Philo wrote a

¹ Apud Euseb. lib. iii. c. 39, p. 113.

² “Petri discipulus, et in baptismate filius.”—Isid. de Vit. et Ob. SS. c. 84, p. 542.

³ Naz. Orat. 25, p. 438.

⁴ H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 16, p. 53.

book of their peculiar rites and way of life; the only reason why St. Jerome reckons him among the writers of the church.¹ Indeed Philo the Jew wrote a book, *περ βίου Θεορητικοῦ*, extant at this day, wherein he speaks of a sort of persons called *Θεοφαπευταὶ*, who in many parts of the world, but especially in a pleasant place near the Mareotick lake in Egypt, had formed themselves into religious societies; and gives a large account of their rites customs, and strict, philosophical, and contemplative course of life. He tells us of them, that when they first enter upon this way, they renounce all secular interests and employments, and leaving their estates to their relations, retire into groves and gardens, and places devoted to solitude and contemplation; that they had their houses or colleges, not contiguous, that so being free from noise and tumult, they might the better minister to the designs of a contemplative life; nor yet removed at too great a distance, that they might maintain mutual society, and be conveniently capable of helping and assisting one another.² In each of these houses there was an oratory, called *Σεμνεῖον* and *Μονασῆτιον*, wherein they discharged the more secret and solemn rites of their religion; divided in the middle with a partition-wall three or four cubits high, the one apartment being for the men, and the other for the women: here they publicly met every seventh day, where being set according to their seniority, and having composed themselves with great decency and reverence, the most aged person among them, and best skilled in the dog-

¹ *De Scrip. Eccl. in Philone.*

² *Phil. lib. de vita contemplat. p. 891, 892, et seq.*

mata and principles of their institution, came forth into the midst, gravely and soberly discoursing what might make the deepest impression upon their minds; the rest attending with a profound silence, and only testifying their assent with the motion of their eyes or head. Their discourses were usually mystical and allegorical, seeking hidden senses under plain words; and of such an allegorical philosophy consisted the books of their religion, left them by their ancestors: the law they compared to an animal, the letter of it resembling the body, while the soul of it lay in those abstruse and recondite notions which the external veil and surface of the words concealed from vulgar understandings. He tells us also, that they took very little care of the body, perfecting their minds by precepts of wisdom and religion; the day they entirely spent in pious and divine meditations, in reading and expounding the law and the prophets, and the holy volumes of the ancient founders of their sect, and in singing hymns to the honour of their Maker; absolutely temperate and abstemious, neither eating nor drinking till night, the only time they thought fit to refresh and regard the body; some of them, out of an insatiable desire of growing in knowledge and virtue, fasting many days together. What diet they had was very plain and simple, sufficient only to provide against hunger and thirst; a little bread, salt, and water being their constant bill of fare: their clothes were as mean as their food, designed only as a present security against cold and nakedness. And this not only the case of men, but of pious and devout women, that lived (though separately) among them; that they religiously observed every seventh day,

and especially the preparatory week to the great solemnity, which they kept with all expressions of a more severe abstinence and devotion. This and much more he has in that tract concerning them.

3. These excellent persons Eusebius peremptorily affirms to have been Christians, converted and brought under these admirable rules and institutions of life by St. Mark, at his coming hither, accommodating all passages to the manners and discipline of Christians; followed herein by Epiphanius,¹ Jerome,² and others of old, as by Baronius,³ and some others of later time: and this so far taken for granted, that many have hence fetched the rise of monasteries and religious orders among Christians.⁴ But whoever seriously and impartially considers Philo's account, will plainly find that he intends it of Jews and professors of the Mosaic religion, though whether Essenes, or of some other particular sect among them, I stand not to determine. That they were not Christians, is evident, besides that Philo gives not the least intimation of it, partly because it is improbable that Philo, being a Jew, should give so great a character and commendation of Christians, so hateful to the Jews at that time in all places of the world; partly in that Philo speaks of them as an institution of some considerable standing, whereas Christians had but lately appeared in the world, and were later come into Egypt; partly because many parts of Philo's account do no way suit with the state and manners of Christians at that time; as that they withdrew

¹ Hæres. xxix. p. 57.

² De Scrip. in Philone.

³ Ad Ann. 64, n. 11.

⁴ Sozom. H. Eccl. lib. i. c. 12, p. 419; Cassian. de Instit. Monarch. lib. ii. c. 5, p. 12.

themselves from public converse, and all affairs of civil life, which Christians never did, but when forced by violent persecutions; for ordinarily, as Justin Martyr and Tertullian tell us, they promiscuously dwelt in towns and cities, ploughed their lands, and followed their trades, eat and drank, and were clothed and habited like other men. So when he says, that besides the books of Moses and the prophets, they had the writings of the ancient authors of their sect and institution, this cannot be meant of Christians: for though Eusebius would understand it of the writings of the evangelists and apostles, yet besides that there were few of them published when Philo wrote this discourse, they were moreover of too late an edition to come under the character of ancient authors. Not to say, that some of their rites and customs were such, as the Christians of those days were mere strangers to, not taken up by the Christian church till many years, and some of them not till some ages after. Nay some of them never used by any of the primitive Christians; such were their ‘religious-dances’¹ which they had at their festival solemnities, especially that great one which they held at the end of every seven weeks; when their entertainment being ended, they all rose up, the men in one company, the women in another, dancing with various measures and motions, each company singing divine hymns and songs, and having a praecitor going before them, now one singing, and anon another, till in the conclusion they joined in one common chorus, in imitation of the triumphant song sung by Moses and the Israelites after their deliverance

¹ Phil. ibid. p. 901, 902.

at the Red Sea. To all which let me add, what a learned man has observed, that the Essenes (if Philo means them) were great physicians,¹ (thence probably called Θεραπευταὶ, “healers;” though Philo, who is apt to turn all things into allegory, refers it only to their curing τὰς φυχὰς τόσοις κεκρατημένας χαλεπαῖς καὶ δυσιάτοις, ἃς κατέσκηψαν ἡδονὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ πῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, καὶ κακιῶν ἀνήνυπτον πλῆθος, “the souls of men infected and over-run with difficult and desperate distempers, created by pleasures and extravagant appetites, and a long train of other lusts and passions.”²) Josephus reporting of them that they accurately study the writings of the ancients, excerpting thence whatever is conducive either to soul or body; and that for the curing of diseases, they diligently inquired into the virtues of roots and stones that were most proper to drive away distempers.³ An account no ways agreeing with the Christians of those times, who miraculously cured diseases without the arts of physic, or any other preparations, than calling the name of Christ over the afflicted person. Doubtless that which led Eusebius into the mistake, was the conformity that he observed between the Christian Ἀσκηταὶ, in and before his time, who entered upon a more strict and severe course of life, and these Therapeutæ described by Philo, an ordinary fancy being able to draw a fair parallel between them, and so it was but removing them some ages higher, and imagining them to have been converted and founded by St. Mark, and the work was done. Indeed it is not to be doubted,

¹ N. Full. Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 3.

² Lib. supr. citat. p. 889.

³ De Bell. Judaic, lib. ii. κεφ. ιβ. p. 786.

but that persons educated under these excellent rules and methods of life, were more than ordinarily prepared for the reception of Christianity, (between which and their principles and rules of life, there was so great an affinity and agreement,) which must needs render our evangelist's success great in those parts, and open the way for men to come flocking over to the faith.

4. St. Mark did not confine his preaching to Alexandria, and the oriental parts of Egypt, but removed westward to the parts of Libya, going through the countries of Marmarica, Pentapolis, and others thereabouts; where, though the people were both barbarous in their manners, and idolatrous in their worship, yet by his preaching and miracles he made way for the entertainment of the gospel; and left them not, till he had not only gained them to, but confirmed them in the profession of it.¹ Returning to Alexandria he preached freely, and ordered and disposed the affairs of the church, and wisely provided for succession by constituting governors and pastors of it. But the restless enemy of the souls of men would not long suffer him to be quiet. It was the time of Easter, at which season the great solemnities of Serapis happened to be celebrated, when the minds of the people being excited to a passionate vindication of the honour of their idol, broke in upon St. Mark, then engaged in the solemn celebration of divine worship, and binding his feet with cords, dragged him through the streets and the most craggy places to the Bucelus, a precipice near the sea, and for that

¹ S. Metaphr. Martyr. S. Marc. apud Sur. ad diem 25 Apr Procop. Diac. laudat. S. Marc. ib. n. 8; Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 43, p. 209. Id. ibid.

night thrust him into prison, where his soul was, by a divine vision, erected and encouraged under the ruins of his shattered body.¹ Early the next morning the tragedy began again; dragging him about in the same manner, till his flesh being raked off, and his blood run out, his spirits failed, and he expired. But their malice died not with him; Metaphrastes adds, that they burnt his body, whose bones and ashes the Christians there decently entombed, near the place where he was wont to preach. His body, at least the remains of it, were afterwards, with great pomp, removed from Alexandria to Venice, where they are religiously honoured, and he adopted as the tutelar saint and patron of that state, and one of the richest and stateliest churches erected to his memory that the church can boast of at this day. He suffered in the month Pharmuthi, on the 25th of April, though the certain year of his martyrdom is not precisely determined by the ancients. Kerstenius, out of the Arabic memoirs of his life, says it was in the fourteenth or last year of Claudius:² St. Jerome places it in the eighth of Nero.³ But extravagantly wide is Dorotheus's computation, who makes him to suffer in the time of Trajan,⁴ with as much truth as Nicephorus, on the other hand, affirms him to have come into Egypt in the reign of Tiberius.⁵ If in so great variety of opinions I may interpose my conjecture, I should reckon him to have suffered about the end of Nero's reign: for sup-

¹ Vid. vit. ejus M. S. Arabice script. ap. Kirsten. p. 37.

² Ubi supra. ³ De Script. Eccl. in Marc.

⁴ Synops. de vit. et mort. App. in Bibl. Pp. tom. iii. p. 148, col. 2.

⁵ Lib. ii. c. 43, p. 209.

posing him to have come with St. Peter to Rome about the fifth or sixth year of Nero, he might thence be dispatched to Alexandria, and spend the residue of his life, and of that emperor's reign, in planting Christianity in those parts of the world. Sure I am that Irenæus reports St. Mark to have outlived Peter and Paul, and that after their decease he composed his gospel out of those things which he had heard Peter preach.¹ But whatever becomes of that, it is evident that Irenæus supposed (whose supposition certainly was not founded upon mere fancy and conjecture) that St. Mark for some considerable time survived the martyrdom of those two great apostles. A passage that so troubled Christopherson, (one of those who in these latter ages first translated Eusebius into Latin,) because crossing the accounts of their writers in this matter, that he chose rather to expunge the word, decease, and substitute another of a quite different sense, expressly contrary to the faith of all ancient copies, and to the most ancient version of Irenæus itself. But to return. St. Mark, as to his person, was of a middle size and stature, his nose long, his eye-brows turning back, his eyes graceful and amiable, his head bald, his beard prolix and gray, his gait quick, the constitution of his body strong and healthful.²

5. His gospel, the only book he left behind him, was, as before we observed, written at the entreaty of the converts at Rome,³ who not content to have

¹ Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 229, citat. etiam ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. 8, p. 172.

² Metaphr. ibid. n. 10, Niceph. ib. p. 210.

³ Clem. Al. Hypotyp. lib. vi. ap Euseb. lib. ii. c. 15, p. 53
Papias ib. lib. iii. c. 39, p. 113.

heard Peter preach, pressed St. Mark, his disciple, that he would commit to writing an historical account of what he had delivered to them; which he performed with no less faithfulness than brevity, all which St. Peter perused, ratified with his authority, and commanded to be publicly read in their religious assemblies. And though, as we noted but now, Irenæus seems to intimate that it was written after St. Peter's death; yet all that can be inferred hence will be, what in itself is a matter of no great moment and importance, that the ancients were not agreed in assigning the exact time when the several gospels were published to the world. If we will give way to the conjectures of a learned man,¹ the difficulty will soon cease: he tells us, that the *μετὰ τέτων ἔξοδον* in Irenæus, should be rendered not “after their death,” but “after their departure,” viz. from Rome. And though this be not the common usage of the word, yet might it have been admitted, had there been any authority of the ancients to prove that St. Peter was twice at Rome. Therefore, not relying upon this, he flies to an ancient copy, where the words are read *μετὰ τέτες ἔκδοσιν*, “after the publication” of St. Matthew's gospel, whereof Irenæus had spoken in the words before. But he should have done well to have named his ancient copy, no such having been hitherto mentioned by any other writer. And therefore, it leaves a suspicion that he had no better authority than the boldness of Christopherson, who, indeed, thrusts such a conjecture into the margin of his book, and accordingly so renders it in his translation, with what design we observed before. But

¹ Grot. Annot. in proem. Marc.

to return. It was frequently styled St. Peter's gospel,¹ not so much because dictated by him to St. Mark, as because he principally composed it out of that account which St. Peter usually delivered in his discourses to the people. Which probably is the reason of what Chrysostom observes,² that in his style and manner of expression he delights to imitate St. Peter, representing much in a few words. Though he commonly reduces the story of our Saviour's acts into a narrower compass than St. Matthew, yet want there not passages which he relates more largely than he. The last chapter of his gospel, at least part of it, was (as Jerome informs us³) wanting in all ancient Greek copies, rejected upon pretence of some disagreement with the other gospels, though, as he there shows, they are fairly consistent with each other. His great impartiality in his relations appears from hence, that he is so far from concealing the shameful lapse and denial of Peter,⁴ his dear tutor and master, that he sets it down with some particular circumstances and aggravations, which the other evangelists take no notice of. Some dispute has been made in what language it was written, whether in Greek or Latin: that which seems to give most countenance to the Latin original, is the note that we find at the end of the Syriac version of this gospel, where it is said that Mark preached and

¹ Vid. Pap. loc. supr. citat.

² Homil. 3, in Matth. p. 30.

³ Ad Hedib. Quæst 3, p. 143, tom. iii.

⁴ Ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου μαθών. καὶ γὰρ φοιτητὴς ἦν Πετροῦ. ἔθεν μάλιστα ἄν τις αὐτὸν ἐκπλαγεῖη. ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐκρημφε τὸ ἐλάττωμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλων σαφεστερον απήγγειλεν, αὐτῷ τέτταρες τῷ μᾶθητῷ.—Chrys. Homil. 86, in Matth. p. 719.

declared his holy gospel at Rome, in the Roman, or the Latin tongue. An evidence that with me would almost carry the force of a demonstration, were I assured that this note is of equal value and authority with that ancient version, generally supposed to come very few centuries short of the apostolic age. But we know how usual it is for such additions to be made by some later hand; and what credit is to be given to the subscriptions at the end of St. Paul's epistles, we have showed elsewhere. Besides, that it is not here said that he wrote, but that he preached his gospel at Rome in that language. The advocates of the Romish church plead, that it is very congruous and suitable, that it should at first be consigned to writing in that language, being principally designed for the use of the Christians at Rome. An objection that will easily vanish, when we consider that as the convert Jews there understood very little Latin, so there were very few Romans that understood not Greek, it being (as appears from the writers of that age) the genteel and fashionable language of those times. Nor can any good reason be assigned, why it should be more inconvenient for St. Mark to write his gospel in Greek for the use of the Romans, than that St. Paul should, in the same language, write his epistle to that church. The original Greek copy, written with St. Mark's own hand, is said to be extant at Venice at this day; written (as they tell us) by him at Aquileia,¹ and thence, after many hundreds of years, translated to Venice, where it is still preserved, though the letters so worn out with length of time, that they are not capable of

¹ *Corn. à Lap. præfat. in Marc. 562.*

being read. A story which as I cannot absolutely disprove, so I am not very forward to believe, and that for more reasons than I think worth while to insist on in this place.

ST. LUKE

THE EVANGELIST.

ST LUKE was born at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, a city celebrated for its extraordinary blessings and eminence, the pleasantness of its situation, the fertility of its soil, the riches of its traffic, the wisdom of its senate, the learning of its professors, the civility and politeness of its inhabitants, by the pens of some of the greatest orators of their times:¹ and yet, above all these, renowned for this one peculiar honour, that here it was that the disciples were first called Christians. It was an university, replenished with schools of learning, wherein were professors of all arts and sciences. So that being born in the very lap of the muses, he could not well miss of an ingenuous and liberal education, his natural parts meeting with the advantages of great improvements. Nay, we are

¹ Dion. Chrys. Orat. 47, de Patria. Liban. Orat. 11, cui Tit. Αντόχικος. tom. ii Chrysost. Encom. Antioch. Τί ποτ' ἔντι τῆν παρ' ἡμῖν πόλεως ἀξίωμα; ἐγένετο πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τὰς μαθητὰς χρηματίσαι Χριστιανάς. τέτο δε οὐδεμία τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔχειν πόλεων, οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ἡ Ρωμύλα πόλις.—Chyrost. Hom. 17, ad Pop. Antioch. p. 198, tom. i.

told, that he studied not only at Antioch, but in all the schools both of Greece and Egypt, whereby he became accomplished in all parts of learning and human sciences.¹ Being thus furnished out with skill in all the preparatory institutions of philosophy, he more particularly applied himself to the study of physic, for which the Grecian academies were most famous; though they that hence infer the quality of his birth and fortunes, forget to consider, that this noble art was in those times generally managed by persons of no better rank than servants: upon which account a learned man conceives St. Luke, though a Syrian by birth, to have been a servant at Rome, where he sometimes practised physic; and whence being manumitted, he returned into his own country, and probably continued his profession all his life; it being so fairly consistent with, and in many cases so subservient to the ministry of the gospel, and the care of souls.² Besides his abilities in physic, he is said to have been very skilful in painting,³ and there are no less than three or four several pieces still in being, pretended to have been drawn with his own hand; a tradition which Gretser the Jesuit sets himself with a great deal of pains, and to very little purpose, to defend;⁴ though his authors, either in respect of credit or antiquity, deserve very little esteem and value. Of more authority with me would be an ancient inscription found in a vault near the church of St. Mary, in Via Lata, at

¹ S. Metaphr. apud Sur. ad diem 18 Octob p. 289.

² Grot. Annot. in Luc. 1.

³ Metaphr. ib Niceph. lib. ii. c. 43.

⁴ De imag. non manuf et à S. Luca pict. c. 18 et 19, p. 354; Rom Subterr. Part ii. c. 46, n. 10, p. 188.

Rome, supposed to have been the place where St. Paul dwelt, wherein mention is made of a picture of the blessed virgin, UNA EX VII. AB LUCA DEPICTIS, "being one of the seven painted by St. Luke."

2. He was a Jewish proselyte; Antioch abounding with men of that nation, who had here their synagogues and schools of education; so that we need not, with Theophylact, send him to Jerusalem to be instructed in the study of the law.¹ As for that opinion of Epiphanius and others, that he was one of the seventy disciples, one of those that deserted our Lord for the unwelcome discourse he made to them, but recalled afterward by St. Paul;² I behold it as a story of the same coin and stamp with that of St. Mark's leaving Christ upon the same occasion, and being reduced by Peter, and that the one was made to answer the other; as upon no better ground it is said, that he was one of those two disciples that were going to Emmaus.³ For besides the silence of Scripture in the case, he himself plainly confesses, that he was not from the beginning an 'eye-witness and minister of the word.' Most probable it is, that he was converted by St. Paul during his abode at Antioch; when, as the apostles of catchers of fish were become fishers of men, so he of a physician of the body became a physician of the soul.⁴ This Nicephorus will have to have been done at Thebes, the chief city of Bœotia, about forty miles from Athens, though it appears

¹ Theophyl. Argum. in Luc. p. 293.

² Hæres. 51, p. 188.

³ Theoph. ut prius. Arabs vit Script. ap. Kirsten. de Quat. Evang. p. 39, Luke i. 2.

⁴ I. o. c. supra laudat.

not to me by any credible author that ever St Paul was there. He became ever after his inseparable companion and fellow-labourer in the ministry of the gospel, especially after his going into Macedonia; from which time, in recording the history of St. Paul's travels, he always speaks of himself in his own person.¹ He followed him in all his dangers, was with him at his several arraignments at Jerusalem, accompanied him in his desperate voyage to Rome, where he still attended on him to serve his necessities, and supply those ministerial offices which the apostle's confinement would not suffer him to undergo, and especially in carrying messages to those churches where he had planted Christianity. This infinitely endeared him to St. Paul, who owned him for his fellow-labourer, called him 'the beloved physician,' and 'the brother whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches;' which the ancients, and especially Ignatius, apply to our evangelist.²

3. Probable it is that he did not wholly leave St. Paul till he had finished his course, and crowned all with martyrdom; though there are that tell us, that he left St. Paul at Rome, and returned back into the east, travelled into Egypt and the parts of Libya, preached the gospel, wrought miracles, converted multitudes, constituted guides and ministers of religion, yea, that he himself took upon him the episcopal charge of the city of Thebais.³ Epiphanius gives upon this account, that he first preached in Dalmatia, and Galatia (he reads it *ἐν τῷ Γαλλίᾳ*, in Gaul, or France, and peremptorily affirms, that

¹ Acts xvi. 10.

² Epist. ad Ephes. p. 44.

³ Metaphr. ubi supr. n. 11.

they are all mistaken that say it was Galatia where Cresens preached, though some think that himself in the mean while is under the most confident mistake,) then in Italy and Macedonia ; where he spared no pains, declined no dangers, that he might faithfully discharge the trust committed to him. The ancients are not very well agreed, either about the time or manner of his death ; some affirming him to die in Egypt, others in Greece, the Roman martyrology, in Bithynia,² Dorotheus, at Ephesus ;³ some make him die a natural, others a violent death. Indeed neither Eusebius nor St. Jerome take any notice of it ; but Nazianzen,⁴ Paulinus,⁵ bishop of Nola, and several others, expressly assert his martyrdom ; whereof Nicephorus gives this particular account, that coming into Greece he successfully preached, and baptized many converts into the Christian faith, till a party of infidels, making head against him, drew him to execution ;⁶ and in want of a cross whereon to dispatch him presently, hanged him upon an olive-tree, in the eightieth (the eighty-fourth says St. Jerome⁷) year of his age. Kirstenius, from an ancient Arabic writer, makes him to have suffered martyrdom at Rome,⁸ which he thinks might probably be after St Paul's first imprisonment there, and departure thence ; when St. Luke being left behind as his deputy to supply his place, was shortly after put to death : the reason (says he) why he no longer

¹ Ubi supra.

² Ad diem 18 Octob. p. 645.

³ De vit. et mor. App. in Bibl. Pp. tom. iii. p. 148.

⁴ Orat 1, in Julian, p. 76.

⁵ Epist. 12, ad Sever. de Basil, p. 138.

⁶ Lib. ii. c. 43, p. 210.

⁷ De Script. Ecc. in Luca.

⁸ Vit. Quat. Evang. p. 45.

continued his history of the apostles' acts, which surely he would have done, had he lived any considerable time after St. Paul's departure. His body afterwards, by the command of Constantine, or his son Constantius, was solemnly removed to Constantinople, and buried in the great church built to the memory of the apostles.

4. Two books he wrote for the use of the church, his gospel, and the history of the apostles' acts, both dedicated to Theophilus, which many of the ancients suppose to be but a feigned name, denoting no more than a lover of God,¹ a title common to every Christian; while others with better reason conclude it the proper name of a particular person, especially since the style of most excellent is attributed to him, the usual title and form of address in those times to princes and great men. Theophylact styles him *συγκλητικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀρχοντα ἵσως*, "a man of consular dignity, and probably a prince:"² the author of the Recognitions makes him a nobleman of Antioch, converted by St. Peter, and who, upon his conversion, gave his house to the church for the place of their public and solemn meetings.³ We may probably suppose him to have been some magistrate, whom St. Luke had converted and baptized, to whom he now dedicated these books, not only as a testimony of honourable respect, but as a means of giving him further certainty and assurance of those things wherein he had been instructed by him. For his gospel, St. Jerome supposes it to have been written

¹ Orig. Hom. 1, in Luc. fol. 94, Ambros. in Luc. 1, p. 9. tom. v. vid. Epiph. Hæres. li. p. 186.

² Argum. in Luc. p. 293.

³ Lib. x. propè fin. fol. 120.

in Achaia, during his travels with St. Paul in those parts,¹ whose help he is generally said to have made use of in the composing of it, and that this the apostle primarily intends when he so often speaks of his gospel. But whatever assistance St. Paul might contribute towards it, we are sure the evangelist himself tells us, that he derived his intelligence in these matters from those, ‘who from the beginning had been eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.’ Nor does it in the least detract from the authority of his relations, that he himself was not present at the doing of them; for if we consider who they were from whom he derived his accounts of things, *habuit utique authenticam paraturam*, as Tertullian speaks,² he had a stock both of credit and intelligence sufficiently authentic to proceed upon, delivering nothing in his whole history but what he had immediately received from persons present at, and concerned in the things which he has left upon record. The occasion of his writing it, is thought to have been partly to prevent those false and fabulous relations which even then began to be obtruded upon the world, partly to supply what seemed wanting in those two evangelists that wrote before him, and the additions or larger explications of things are particularly enumerated by Irenæus.³ He mainly insists upon what relates to Christ’s priestly office, and though recording other parts of the evangelical story, yet it ever is with a peculiar respect to his priesthood. Upon which account the ancients in accommodating the four symbolical representments

¹ Proœm. in Matth. tom. ix.

² Adv. Marc lib. iv. c. 2, p. 414.

³ Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 14, p. 272.

in the prophet's vision to the four evangelists, assigned the ox or calf to St. Luke.

5. His history of the apostolical acts was written no doubt at Rome, at the end of St. Paul's two years' imprisonment there, with which he concludes his story ; it contains the actions, and sometimes the sufferings of some principal apostles, especially St. Paul ; for, besides that his activity in the cause of Christ made him bear a greater part both in doing and suffering, St. Luke was his constant attendant, an eye-witness of the whole carriage of his life, and privy to his most intimate transactions, and therefore capable of giving a more full and satisfactory account and relation of them ; seeing no evidence or testimony in matters of fact can be more rational and convictive, than his who reports nothing but what he has heard and seen. Among other things, he gives us a particular account of those great miracles which the apostles did for the confirmation of their doctrine. And this (as St. Chrysostom informs us¹) was the reason why, in the primitive times, the book of the Acts, though containing those actions of the apostles that were done after Pentecost, was yet usually read in the church before it, in the space between that and Easter, when, as at all other times, those parts of the gospel were read which were proper to the season ; it was (says he) because the apostles' miracles being the grand confirmation of the truth of Christ's resurrection, and those miracles recorded in that book ; it was therefore thought most proper to be read next to the feast of the resurrection. In both these books his way and manner of writing is

¹ Serm. 73, Cur Act. App. legantur in Pentec. tom. v.

exact and accurate; his style polite and elegant, sublime and lofty, and yet clear and perspicuous, flowing with an easy and natural grace and sweetness, admirably accommodate to an historical design, all along expressing himself in a vein of purer Greek, than is to be found in the other writers of the holy story. Indeed being born and bred at Antioch, (than which no place more famous for oratory and eloquence,) he could not but carry away a great share of the native genius of that place, though his style is sometimes alloyed with a touch of the Syriac and Hebrew dialect. It was observed of old, (as Jerome tells us,¹) that his skill was greater in Greek than Hebrew, that therefore he always makes use of the Septuagint translation, and refuses sometimes to render words, when the propriety of the Greek tongue will not bear it. In short, as an historian, he was faithful in his relations, elegant in his writings; as a minister, careful and diligent for the good of souls; as a Christian, devout and pious: and he crowned all the rest with the laying down of his life for the testimony of that gospel, which he had both preached and published to the world.

¹ Comm. in. c. 6, Esai. p. 30, tom. v.; ibid. in c. 28, p. 118
Epist ad Damas. p. 124, tom. iii.

DIPTYCHA APOSTOLICA :

OR,

**A BRIEF ENUMERATION AND ACCOUNT OF THE
APOSTLES AND THEIR SUCCESSORS**

FOR THE

**FIRST THREE HUNDRED YEARS, IN THE FIVE GREAT
APOSTOLICAL CHURCHES.**

N O T E.

[THE learned author of the “Lives of the Apostles” having completed his design in respect to the history of those chosen vessels of divine grace, found it expedient to enlarge his plan, and to write the memoirs of the other holy men who laboured in the same remarkable season of heavenly dispensations. These later productions of his pen display the same erudition, the same good sense and candour as the “Lives of the Apostles;” and the most accomplished scholar in ecclesiastical history may view, with profound interest and respect, the admirable zeal which they exhibit in the cause of truth. We have selected from the “Apostolici,” the memoirs of the three Fathers whose names are most familiar to the general reader. They were men on whom the Spirit of God rested in the power and glory of holiness: they show in their whole conduct, what manner of persons they ought to be who should sit in the seats of the Apostles; and by this, their example, we learn, how convincing were the evidences of the Gospel, when they might best be examined, to the purest and most elevated minds.]—ED.

A BRIEF ENUMERATION
OF THE
APOSTLES AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

ANTIOCH.

THIS I place first, partly because it is generally acknowledged, even by the Romish writers, that a church was founded here by St. Peter some considerable time before that at Rome; partly because here it was that the venerable name of Christians did first commence. In which respect the fathers, in the council at Constantinople under Nectarius, in their synodicon to them at Rome, style the church of Antioch *τὴν πρεσβυτάρην καὶ ὅντως ἀποστολικήν*, “The most ancient, and truly apostolical;”¹ and St. Chrysostom, “the head of the whole world.”² The succession of its bishops, till the time of Constantine, (which shall be the boundary of this catalogue,) was as followeth.

I. St. Peter the apostle; who governed this church at least seven years. Nicephorus of Constantinople says eleven years.

¹ Ap. Theod. H. Eccles. lib. v. c. 9, p.
² Homil. iii. ad Pop. Ant. tom. i. p. 40.

II. Evodius, who sat twenty-three years. In his time the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch.

III. Ignatius. After near forty years' presidency over this church, he was carried out of Syria to Rome, and there thrown to wild beasts in the theatre, ann. Chr. 110; Trajan, 11.

IV. Heron; he was bishop twenty years. To him succeeded

V. Cornelius, who kept the place thirteen years, dying ann. Chr. 142.

VI. Eros, twenty-six; or, as Eusebius, twenty-four years.

VII. Theophilus, thirteen years; a man of great parts and learning; many of his works were extant in Eusebius's time, and some of them we still have at this day.

VIII. Maximinus, thirteen years; he dying, the next that was chosen was

IX. Serapio, twenty-five years: many of his works are mentioned by Eusebius and St. Jerome. To him succeeded

X. Asclepiades, a man of great worth and eminency, and invincible constancy in the time of persecution: he continued in this see nine years.

XI. Philetus, eight years.

XII. Zebinus or Zebennus; he sat six years.

XIII. Babylas, thirteen years. After many conflicts and sufferings for the faith, he received the crown of martyrdom under Decius, and commanded his chains to be buried with him.

XIV. Fabius, or as the patriarch Nicephorus calls him, Flavius, possessed the chair nine years. He was a little inclining towards Novatianism.

XV. Demetrianus: he sat bishop, says Nicephorus, four: says Eusebius, eight years

XVI. Paulus Samosatenus sat in the chair eight years; when for his unepiscopal manners and practices, his unsound dogmata and principles, and especially his mean and unworthy opinions concerning our Saviour; he was condemned and deposed by a synod at Antioch, whose synodical determination is at large extant in Eusebius.

XVII. Domnus succeeded in the place of the deposed He was son to Demetrian, Paulus's predecessor in that see; constituted and ordained to the place by the fathers of that synod, who further gave him this honourable character, that he was a man endued with all episcopal virtues and ornaments. Eusebius makes him to have sat six, Nicephorus but two years.

XVIII. Timaeus; he sat in the chair ten years.

XIX. Cyrillus, who presided over that church in the account of Nicephorus fifteen, of Eusebius twenty-four years.

XX. Tyrannus; he sat thirteen years. In his time began the tenth persecution under Diocletian, which raged with great severity.

XXI. Vitalis, six years.

XXII. Philogonius, five years; succeeded by

XXIII. Paulinus, or as Nicephorus calls him, Paulus; who after five years was deposed and driven out by the prevalency of the Arian faction.

XXIV. Eustathius, formerly bishop of Berœa; a learned man, and of great note and eminency in the council of Nice; the first general council summoned by the great Constantine, after he had restored peace and prosperity to the church.

ROME.

THE foundation of this church is, with just probabilities of reason, by many of the fathers equally attributed to Peter and Paul; the one, as apostle of the circumcision, preaching to the Jews, while the other, probably as the apostle of the uncircumcision, preached to the Gentiles. Its bishops succeeded in this order:

I. St. Peter and St. Paul, who both suffered martyrdom under Nero.

II. Linus, the son of Herculanus, a Tuscan; he is mentioned by St. Paul; he sat between eleven and twelve years.

III. Cletus, or Anacletus, or Anencletus, supposed by many to be the same person; (though others, who reckon Anacletus a Greek, born at Athens, make them distinct, whom yet we have left out, not being mentioned by Eusebius;) a Roman, the son of Æmilianus, sat nine, though others say but two years.

IV. Clemens, a Roman, born in mount Cælius, the son of Faustinus, near akin, say some, to the emperor: he was condemned to dig in the marble quarries near the Euxine sea; and by the command of Trajan, with an anchor about his neck thrown into the sea. He was bishop of Rome nine years and four months.

V. Euaristus, by birth a Greek; but his father a Jew of Bethlehem. He is said to have been crowned with martyrdom the last year of Trajan, in the ninth of his bishopric; or as others, the thirteenth.

VI. Alexander, a Roman, though young in years, was grave in his manners and conversation. He sat ten years and seven months, and died a martyr.

VII. Xystus, or Sixtus, a Roman; he was martyred in the tenth year of his bishopric, and buried in the Vatican.

VIII. Telesphorus, a Greek, succeeded; Justin the martyr flourished in his time. He died a martyr, having sat eleven years and three months; ten years eight months say others; and lies buried near St. Peter, in the Vatican.

IX. Hyginus, the son of an Athenian philosopher, was advanced to the chair under Antoninus Pius: he sat four years; Eusebius says eight.

X. Pius, an Italian, born at Aquileia: he died, having been bishop eleven years and four months; according to Eusebius fifteen years.

XI. Anicetus, born in Syria: he is said, after nine, or as others, eleven years, to have suffered martyrdom; and was buried in the Via Appia, in the cemetery of Calistus. In his time Polycarp came to Rome.

XII. Soter, or as Nicephorus calls him, Soterichus, was a Campanian, the son of Concordius. There was an intercourse of letters between him and Dionysius, bishop of Corinth. He died after he had sat nine, or as Eusebius reckons, seven years.

XIII. Eleutherius, born at Nicopolis in Greece. To him Lucius, king of Britain, sent a letter and an embassy. He sat fifteen years; died ann. Chr. 186; and lies buried in the Vatican.

XIV. Victor, an African, the son of Felix, a man of a furious and intemperate spirit, as appeared in his passionate proceedings in the controversy about the observation of Easter. He was bishop ten years: Onuphrius assigns him twelve years and one month.

XV. Zephyrinus, a Roman, succeeded, and possessed the chair eight, but as others, eighteen years; twenty, says Onuphrius. A pious and learned man,

but a little warping towards the errors of Montanus.

XVI. Calistus, or Calixtus, the son of Domitius, a Roman ; a prudent and modest man. He suffered much in the persecution under Alexander Severus, under whom he became a martyr, being thrown into a well by the procurement of Ulpian the great lawyer, but severe enemy of Christians. He sat six years, or five, as others, and one month ; and though he made a cemetery, called after his own name, yet was he buried in that of Calepodius, in the Appian Way.

XVII. Urbanus, the son of Pontianus, a Roman : after four, or as some, six years, he suffered martyrdom for the faith : Eusebius has five ; St. Jerome, in his translation, nine years. He was buried in Prætextatus's cemetery in the Appian Way.

XVIII. Pontianus, the son of Calphurnius, a Roman ; for his bold reproving the Roman idolatry he was banished into the island Sardinia, where he died. He was bishop about three or four, or as Eusebius, five years.

XIX. Anteros, a Greek, the son of Romulus. He died by that he had kept his place one month ; though others, without reason, make him to have lived in it many years, and was buried in the cemetery of Calistus.

XX. Fabianus, a Roman ; he was unexpectedly chosen bishop, while several others being in competition, a pigeon suddenly descended, and sat upon his head, the great emblem of the Holy Spirit. He died a martyr after fourteen years ; buried in the same place with his predecessor.

XXI. Cornelius, a Roman ; he opposed and condemned Novatian : frequent letters passed between him and Cyprian. After somewhat more than two years he

was first cruelly whipped, and then beheaded : buried in a vault within the grange of Lucina, near the Appian Way.

XXII. Lucius, a Roman, sat two, or as others, three years. He suffered martyrdom by the command of Valerian, and was buried in Callistus's cemetery.

XXIII. Stephanus, a Roman, the son of Julius. Great contests were between him and Cyprian, about rebaptizing those who had been baptized by heretics. He was beheaded after he had sat about two or three years, though others say seven, and buried with his predecessor.

XXIV. Xystus, a Greek, formerly a philosopher of Athens. After one, or as others compute, two years and ten months, he suffered martyrdom. Eusebius reckons it eight years.

XXV. Dionysius, of a monk made bishop, *λόγιος τε καὶ θαυμάσιος*, in the judgment of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, a truly learned and admirable person. The time of his presidency is uncertainly assigned—six, nine, ten, eleven years. Eusebius extends it to twelve years.

XXVI. Felix, a Roman. In his time arose the Manichæan heresy. He suffered about the fourth or fifth year of his episcopacy ; and lies buried in the Aurelian Way, in a cemetery of his own, two miles from Rome.

XXVII. Eutychianus, a Tuscan ; a man exceedingly careful of the burial of martyrs, after one year's space was himself crowned with martyrdom. Eusebius allows him but eight months ; Onuphrius, eight years and six months.

XXVIII. Caius, or as Eusebius calls him, Gaianus, a Dalmatian, kinsman to the Emperor Diocletian, and in the persecution under him became a martyr. He

sat eleven years, some say longer ; Eusebius, fifteen years. He was beheaded, and buried in Calistus's cemetery.

XXIX. Marcellinus, a Roman. Through fear of torment he did sacrifice to the gods ; but recovering himself, died a martyr, after he had sat eight or nine years. He was beheaded, and buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, in the Salarian Way. To him succeeded

XXX. Marcellus, a Roman. He was condemned by Maxentius the tyrant to keep beasts in a stable, which yet he performed with his prayers and exercises of devotion. He died after five years and six months, and was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla.

XXXI. Eusebius, a Greek ; the son of a physician. He suffered much under the tyranny of Maxentius. He sat six years say some, four say others, though Eusebius allows him but seven months ; Onuphrius, one year and seven months. He was buried in the Appian Way, near Callistus's cemetery.

XXXII. Miltiades, an African. He might be a confessor under Maxentius ; but could not be a martyr under Maximinus, as some report him. He sat three or four, though others assign him but two years ; and was buried in the cemetery of Callistus.

XXXIII. Sylvester, a Roman. He was elected into the place, anno. Chr. 311, fetched from the mountain Soracte, whither he had fled for fear of persecution. He was highly in favour with Constantine the Great. He sat twenty-three, Nicephorus says twenty-eight years.

JERUSALEM.

THE church of Jerusalem may, in some sense, be said to have been founded by our Lord himself, as it was for some time cultivated and improved by the ministry of the whole college of apostles. The bishops of it were as followeth.

I. St James the Less, the brother of our Lord; by him, say some, immediately constituted bishop; but as others, more probably, by the apostles. He was thrown off the temple, and knocked on the head with a fuller's club.

II. Symeon, the son of Cleopas, brother to Joseph, our Lord's reputed father. He sat in this chair twenty-three years; and suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his age.

III. Justus succeeded in his room, and sat six years.

IV. Zacheus, or as Nicephorus the patriarch calls him, Zacharias, four years.

V. Tobias; to him, after four years, succeeded

VI. Benjamin, who sat two years.

VII. John, who continued the same space.

VIII. Matthias or Matthæus, two years.

IX. Philippus, one year. Next came

X. Seneca, who sat four years.

XI. Justus, four years.

XII. Levi, or Lebes two years.

XIII. Ephrem or Ephres; or as Epiphanius styles him, Vaphres, two years.

XIV. Joseph, two years.

XV. Judas two years. Most of these bishops we may observe to have but a short time, following one another with a very quick succession. This doubtless was in a great measure owing to the turbulent and unquiet humour of the Jewish nation, frequently rebelling against the Roman powers, whereby they provoked them to fall heavy upon them, and cut off all that came in their way, making no distinction between Jews and Christians; as indeed they were all Jews, though differing in the rites of their religion. For hitherto the bishops of Jerusalem had successively been of the circumcision; the church there having been entirely made up of Jewish converts. But Jerusalem being now utterly laid waste, and the Jews dispersed into all other countries, the Gentiles were admitted not only into the body of that church, but even into the episcopal chair. The first whereof was

XVI. Marcus, who sat eight years.

XVII. Cassianus, eight years.

XVIII. Publius, five years.

XIX. Maximus, four years.

XX. Julianus, two years.

XXI. Caianus, three years.

XXII. Symmachus, two years.

XXIII. Caius, three years.

XXIV. Julianus, four years.

XXV. Elias, two years. I find not this bishop mentioned by Eusebius; but he is recorded by Nicephorus of Constantinople.

XXVI. Capito, four years.

XXVII. Maximus, four years.

XXVIII. Antoninus, five years.

XXIX. Valens, three years.

XXX. Dulichianus two years

XXXI. Narcissus, four years. He was a man of

eminent piety, famous for the great miracles which he wrought; but not being able to bear the aspersions which some unjustly cast upon him, (though God singularly and miraculously vindicated his innocence,) he left his church, and retired into deserts and solitudes. In his absence was chosen

XXXII. Dius, who sat eight years. After him

XXXIII. Germanio, four years.

XXXIV. Gordius, five years. In his time Narcissus, as one from the dead, returned from his solitudes, and was importuned by the people again to take the government of the church upon him; being highly reverenced by them, both for his strict and philosophical course of life, and the signal vengeance which God took of his accusers; and in this second administration he continued ten years, suffering martyrdom when he was near one hundred and twenty years old. To relieve the infirmities of his great age, they took in, to be his colleague,

XXXV. Alexander, formerly bishop in Cappadocia, who at that time had, out of devotion, taken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; the choice being extraordinarily designed by a particular revelation from heaven. He was an eminent confessor; and after having sat fifteen years, died in prison, under the Decian persecution. By him Origen was ordained presbyter. He was a great patron of learning as well as religion; a studious preserver of the records of the church. He erected a library at Jerusalem, which he especially furnished with the writings and epistles of ecclesiastical persons; and out of this treasury it was that Eusebius borrowed a great part of his materials for the composing of his history.

XXXVI. Mazabanes, nine years.

XXXVII. Hymenæus, twenty-three years.

XXXVIII. Zabdas, ten years.

XXXIX. Hermon, nine years. He was, as Eusebius tells us, the last bishop of this see before that fatal persecution that raged even in his time.

XL. Macarius, ordained ann. Chr. 315. He was present in the great Nicene council. He sat, says Nicephorus of Constantinople, twenty years; but St. Jerome allows him a much longer time.

BYZANTIUM,

AFTERWARDS CALLED CONSTANTINOPLE.

THAT this church was first founded by St. Andrew, we have showed in his life. The succession of its bishops was as followeth.

I. St. Andrew the apostle. He was crucified at Patræ, in Achaia.

II. Stachys, whom St. Paul calls his beloved Stachys, ordained bishop by St. Andrew. He sat sixteen years.

III. Onesimus, fourteen years.

IV. Polycarpus, seventeen years.

V. Plutarchus, sixteen years.

VI. Sedecio, nine years.

VII. Diogenes, fifteen years. Of the last three no mention is made in Nicephorus of Constantinople; but they are delivered by Nicephorus Callistus, lib. viii. c. 6. p. 540.

VIII. Eleutherius, seven years.

IX. Felix, five years.

X. Polycarpus, seventeen years.

XI. Athenodorus, four years. He erected a church

called Elea, afterwards much beautified and enlarged by Constantine the Great.

XII. Euzoius, sixteen years; though Nicephorus Callistus allows but six years.

XIII. Laurentius, eleven years and six months.

XIV. Alypius, thirteen years.

XV. Pertinax, a man of consular dignity. He built another church near the sea-side, which he called Peace. He sat nineteen years, which Nicephorus Callistus reduces to nine years.

XVI. Olympianus, eleven years.

XVII. Marcus, thirteen years.

XVIII. Cyriacus or Cyrilliannus, sixteen years.

XIX. Constantinus, seven years. In the first year of his bishopric he built a church in the north part of the city, which he dedicated to the honour of Euphemia the martyr, who had suffered in that place. In this oratory he spent the remainder of his life, leaving his episcopal chair to

XX. Titus, who sat thirty-five years and six months; though Nicephorus Callistus makes it thirty-seven years. After him came

XXI. Dometius, brother (as they tell us) to the emperor Probus; he was bishop twenty-one years six months.

XXII. Probus succeeded his father Dometius, and sat twelve years; as after him

XXIII. Metrophanes, his brother, who governed that church ten years. And in his time it was that Constantine translated the imperial court hither, enlarged and adorned it, called it after his own name, and made it the seat of the empire.

XXIV. Alexander succeeded; a man of great piety and integrity, zealous and constant in maintaining the truth against the blasphemies of Arius. He sat twenty-
† years.

ALEXANDRIA.

THE foundations of this church were laid, and a great part of its superstructure raised by St. Mark; who though not strictly and properly an apostle, yet being an apostle at large, and immediately commissioned by St. Peter, it justly obtained the honour of an apostolical church. Its bishops and governors are thus recorded:

I. St. Mark the evangelist, of whose travels and martyrdom we have spoken in his life. Nicephorus of Constantinople makes him sit two years.

II. Anianus, charactered by Eusebius, ἀνήρ θεοφιλῆς καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος, “A man beloved of God, and admirable in all things.” He ruled in that throne twenty-two years.

III. Avilius, twelve years; or as Eusebius, thirteen years.

IV. Cердо, who succeeded about the first year of Trajan: he sat ten years; according to Eusebius eleven years.

V. Primus, twelve years.

VI. Justus or Justinus, ten years,

VII. Eumenes, ten years; or as Eusebius, thirteen years: St. Jerome, in his translation, calls him Hymenaeus.

VIII. Marcus or Marcianus, thirteen years; or as Eusebius, ten years.

IX. Celadion, ten years; but in Eusebius's computation, fourteen years.

X. Agrippinus, fourteen years; according to Eusebius, twelve years.

XI. Julianus, fifteen years ; though Eusebius allows but ten years.

XII. Demetrius twenty-one years ; but Eusebius more truly makes him to have governed that church no less than forty-three years. He was a man of great zeal and piety, and underwent many troubles in the persecution at Alexandria. He was at first a great friend to Origen, but afterwards became his enemy, laying some irregularities to his charge ; partly out of emulation at the great reputation which Origen had gained in the world ; partly in that Origen had suffered himself to be ordained presbyter by two other bishops, Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theocistus of Cæsarea.

XIII. Heraclas, a man of a philosophical genius and way of life. He was educated under the institution of Origen, and by him taken to be his assistant in the schools of his catechumens ; the whole government whereof he afterwards resigned to him ; and upon the death of Demetrius he was advanced to the government of that church ; the care whereof he took for sixteen years ; though Nicephorus of Constantinople, by a mistake, I suppose, for his predecessor, makes it forty-three years.

XIV. Dionysius, seventeen years. He was one of the most eminent bishops of his time : he was one of Origen's scholars, then preferred first master of the catechetical school at Alexandria, and afterwards bishop of that see. In the persecution under Decius he was banished first to Taposiris, a little town between Alexandria and Canopus ; then to Cephro, and other places in the deserts of Libya. But a large account of his own and other sufferings, with many other transactions of those times, we have out of his own

letters, yet extant in Eusebius. He died in the twelfth year of the emperor Gallienus.

XV. Maximus. Of a presbyter he was made bishop of Alexandria. He sat in that chair eighteen years according to Eusebius's computation, though Nicephorus of Constantinople assigns but eight years.

XVI. Theonas, seventeen years; or, according to St. Jerome's version of Eusebius, nineteen years. To him succeeded.

XVII. Petrus, twelve years. He began his office three years before the last persecution. A man of infinite strictness and accuracy, and of indefatigable industry for the good of the church. He suffered in the ninth year of the persecution, with the loss of his head, gaining the crown of martyrdom: after whose death came in the prosperous and happy days of the church; Constantine the Great turning the black and dismal scene of things into a state of calmness and serenity.

XVIII. Achillas, nine years; though Nicephorus of Constantinople allows him but one year. By him, Arius, upon his submission, was ordained presbyter.

XIX. Alexander, twenty-three years. Under him Arius began more openly to broach his heresy at Alexandria, who was thereupon excommunicated and thrust out by Alexander, and shortly after condemned by the Fathers of the council of Nice.

LIVES
OF
ST CLEMENS, ST. IGNATIUS,
AND
ST. POLYCARP.

ST. CLEMENS.

IT makes not a little for the honour of this venerable apostolical man, (for of him all antiquity understands it,) that he was 'fellow-labourer' with St. Paul, and one of those 'whose names were written in the book of life.' He was born at Rome, upon Mount Cœlius, as, besides others, the Pontifical, under the name of Damasus, informs us.¹ His father's name was Faustinus, but who he was, and what his profession and course of life, is not recorded. Indeed, in the book of the Recognitions and the *τα κλημέντια* (mentioned by the ancients and lately published) we have more particular accounts concerning him: books which however falsely attributed to St. Clemens, and liable in some cases to just exception, yet being of great antiquity in the church, written not long after the apostolic age, (as we shall show hereafter,) we shall thence derive some few notices to our purpose, though we cannot absolutely engage for the certainty of them. There we find St. Clemens brought in, giving this account of himself.

¹ Vit. Clement. Concil. tom. i. col. 74.

S T. C L E M E N S.

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¹ Vit. Clement. Concil. tom. i. col. 74.

2. He was descended of a noble race, sprung from the family of the Cæsars,¹ his father Faustianius, or Faustus, being near akin to the emperor, (I suppose Tiberius,) and educated together with him, and by his procurement matched with Mattidia, a woman of prime family in Rome. He was the youngest of three sons, his two elder brothers being Faustinus and Faustus, who after changed their names for Nicetas and Aquila. His mother, a woman it seems of exquisite beauty, was by her husband's own brother strongly solicited to unchaste embraces. To avoid whose troublesome importunities, and yet loath to reveal it to her husband, lest it should break out to the disturbance and dishonour of their family, she found out this expedient: she pretended to her husband that she was warned in a dream, together with her two eldest sons to depart for some time from Rome. He accordingly sent them to reside at Athens, for the greater conveniency of their education. But hearing nothing of them, though he sent messengers on purpose every year, he resolved at last to go himself in pursuit of them; which he did, leaving his youngest son, then twelve years of age, at home, under the care of tutors and guardians. St. Clemens grew up in all manly studies, and virtuous actions, till falling under some great dissatisfactions of mind concerning the immortality of the soul, and the state of the other life, he applied himself to search more narrowly into the nature and the truth of things.² After having baffled all

¹ Recogn. lib. vii. n. 8, p. 476; Clem. Homil. 12, n. 8, p. 678; Epitom. n. 76, p. 781, edit. Paris.

² Recogn. lib. i. n. 1, p. 392; Cl. Hom. i. p. 546; Epist. p. 749.

his own notions, he betook himself to the schools of the philosophers, where he met with nothing but fierce contentions, endless disputes, sophistical and uncertain arts of reasoning ; thence he resolved to consult the Egyptian hierophantæ, and to see if he could meet with any who by arts of magic was able to fetch back one of those who were departed to the invisible world, the very sight of whom might satisfy his curious inquiries about this matter. While he was under this suspense, he heard of the Son of God's appearing in the world, and the excellent doctrine he had published in Judæa, wherein he was further instructed by the ministry of St. Barnabas, who came to Rome. Him he followed first to Alexandria, and thence, after a little time, to Judæa. Arriving at Cæsarea he met St. Peter, by whom he was instructed and baptized, whose companion and disciple he continued for a great part of his life.

3. This is the sum of what I thought good to borrow from those ancient writings. As for his relations, what various misadventures his father and mother, and his two brothers severally met with, by what strange accidents they all afterwards met together, were converted and baptized into the Christian faith, I omit, partly as less proper to my purpose, partly because it looks more like a dramatic scene of fancy, than a true and real history. As to that part of the account of his being related to the imperial family, though it be more than once and again confidently asserted by Nicephorus,¹ (who transcribes a good part of the story,) and by

¹ H. Ec. lib. ii. c. 35, p. 191; lib. iii. c. 2, et 18, p. 247.

others before him,¹ yet I cannot but behold it as an evident mistake, arising from no other fountain than the story of Flavius Clemens, the consul, who was cousin-german to the emperor Domitian, and his wife Flavia Domitilla, near akin also to the emperor, concerning whose conversion to, and martyrdom for, the faith of Christ, we have elsewhere given an account from the writers of those times.² • Probable it is, that St. Clemens, for the main, attended St. Peter's motions, and came with him to Rome, where he had at last the government of that church committed to him. Dorotheus tells us, that he was the first of the Gentiles that embraced the Christian faith, and that he was first made bishop of Sardica, a city in Thrace, afterwards called Triaditza, and then of Rome.³ But herein I think he stands alone: I am sure he has none of the ancients to join with him; unless he understands it of another Clemens, whom the Chronicon Alexandrinum also makes one of the seventy disciples,⁴ but withal seems to confound with ours. That he was bishop of Rome, there is an unanimous and unquestionable agreement of all ancient writers, though they strangely vary about the place and order of his coming to it. The writers of the Roman church, how great words soever they speak of the constant and uninterrupted succession of St. Peter's chair, are yet involved in an inextricable labyrinth about the succession of the four first bishops of that see, scarce two of them of any note bringing in the same account. I shall not attempt

¹ Eucher. Lug. ad. Valerian. de contempt. Mund. Anonym. de vit. Ieur. et Paul, ap. P. Jun. not. in Clem. ad Cor.

² Primit. Chr. p. 1, ch. 3.

³ Synops. de vit. App. in Bibl. PP. tom. iii. p. 150, col. 1.

⁴ Chron. Alex. p. 508.

to accommodate the difference between the several schemes that are given in, but only propose what I conceive most likely and probable.

4. Evident it is both from Irenæus¹ and Epiphanius,² as also before them from Caius,³ an ancient writer, and from Dionysius,⁴ bishop of Corinth, that Peter and Paul jointly laid the foundations of the church of Rome, and are therefore equally styled bishops of it; the one as ‘apostle of the Gentiles,’ (as we may probably suppose,) taking care of the Gentile Christians, while the other as ‘the apostle of the circumcision,’ applied himself to the Jewish converts at Rome. For we cannot imagine, that there being such chronological and inveterate prejudices between the Jews and Gentiles, especially in matters of religion, they should be suddenly laid aside, and both enter together into one public society. We know that in the church of Jerusalem, till the destruction of the temple, none were admitted but Jewish converts: and so it might be at first at Rome, where infinite numbers of Jews then resided; they might keep themselves for some time in distinct assemblies, the one under St. Paul, the other under Peter. And some foundation for such a conjecture there seems to be even in the apostolic history, where St. Luke tells us, that St. Paul, at his first coming to Rome, being rejected by the Jews, turned to the Gentiles, declaring to them the salvation of God, who gladly heard and entertained it; and that he continued thus preaching the kingdom

¹ Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 232.

² Epiph. Hæres. xxvii. p. 51, vid. Ham. Dissert. v. c. i. p. 256.

³ Cai. adv. Procul.

⁴ Dionys. Ep. ad Rom. apud Euseb. lib. ii. c. 25, p. 68.

of God, and receiving all that came in unto him for two years together.¹ This I look upon as the first settled foundation of a Gentile church at Rome; the further care and presidency whereof St. Paul might devolve upon Linus, (whom the interpolated Ignatius makes his deacon or minister,) as St. Peter having established a church of Jewish converts, might turn it over to St. Clemens; of whom Tertullian expressly says, that Peter ordained him bishop of Rome.² Accordingly, the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions,³ makes Linus to be ordained bishop of Rome by St. Paul, and Clemens, by St. Peter. He says, indeed, that Linus was the first; and so he might very well be, seeing St. Paul (whatever the modern writers of that church say to the contrary) was some considerable time at Rome, before St. Peter came hither. Linus dying, was probably succeeded by Cletus or Anacletus (for the Greeks, and doubtless most truly, generally make him the same person) in his distinct capacity. At which time Clemens, whom St. Peter had ordained to be his successor, continued to act as president over the church of Jewish converts: and thus things remained till the death of Cletus, when the difference between Jew and Gentile being quite worn off, the entire presidency and government of the whole church of Rome might devolve upon St. Clemens, as the survivor; and from this period of time, the years of his episcopacy, according to the common computation, are to begin their date. By this account, not only that of Optatus⁴ and the Bucherian catalogue

¹ Acts, xxviii. 23—25, 23—31.

² De Præscript. Hæret. c. 32, p. 213.

³ Lib. vii. c. 47, col. 451.

⁴ De Schism. Donat. lib. ii. p. 38.

may be true,¹ which make Clemens to follow Linus; but also that of Baronius and many of the ancients, who make both Linus and Cletus to go before him, as we can allow they did as bishops and pastors of the Gentile church. As for a more distinct and particular account of the times, I thus compute them:—Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom in the Neronian persecution, (as we have elsewhere probably showed,) ann. 65. After which Linus sat twelve years, four months, and twelve days: Cletus twelve years, one (but as Baronius, seven) months, and eleven days, which between them make twenty-five years, and extend to ann. Chr. 90; after which, if we add the nine years, eleven months, and twelve days, wherein Clemens sat sole bishop over that whole church, they fall in exactly with the third year of Trajan; the time assigned for his martyrdom, by Eusebius, Jerome, Damasus, and many others. Or if, with Petavius, Ricciolus, and some others, we assign the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, ann. 67, two years later, the computation will still run more smooth and easy, and there will be time enough to be allowed for the odd months and days assigned by the different accounts, and to make the years of their pontificate complete and full. Nor can I think of any way, considering the great intricacy and perplexity of the thing, that can bid fairer for an easy solution of this matter. For granting Clemens to have been ordained by St. Peter for his successor, (as several of the ancients expressly affirm,) and yet withal (what is evident enough) that he died not till ann.

¹ A. Bucher. edit. comment. in Vict. Can. Pasch. c. 15, p. 269.

Chr. 100, Traj. 3, it will be very difficult to find any way so proper to reconcile it. As for that fancy of Epiphanius,¹ that Clemens might receive imposition of hands from Peter, but refused the actual exercise of the episcopal office, so long as Linus and Cletus lived; he only proposes it as a conjecture, founded merely upon a mistaken passage of Clemens, in his epistle to the Corinthians, and confesses it is a thing wherein he dare not be positive, not being confident whether it were so or no.

5. Might the ancient epistle written to St. James, brother of our Lord, under the name of our St. Clemens,² be admitted as a competent evidence, there we find not only that Clemens was constituted bishop by St. Peter, but with what formality the whole affair was transacted. It tells us, that the apostle, sensible of his approaching dissolution, presented Clemens before the church as a fit person to be his successor; the good man, with all imaginable modesty, declined the honour which St. Peter, in a long discourse, urged upon him, and set out at large the particular duties both of ministers in their respective orders and capacities, as also of the people; which done, he laid his hands upon him, and compelled him to take his seat. How he administered this great but difficult province, the ecclesiastical records give us very little account. The author of the Pontifical,³ that fathers himself upon pope Damasus, tells us, that he divided Rome into seven regions, in each of which he appointed

¹ Contr. Carpocrat. Hæres. xxvii. p. 51, vid. Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. p. 69.

² Extat Græce et Lat. inter. pp. Apost. à Coteler. edit.

³ Lib. Pontif. in. vit Clem. Conc. tom. i. col. 74.

a notary, who should diligently inquire after all the martyrs that suffered within his division, and faithfully record the acts of their martyrdom. I confess, the credit of this author is not good enough absolutely to rely upon his single testimony in matters so remote and distant; though we are otherwise sufficiently assured, that the custom of notaries taking the speeches, acts, and sufferings of the martyrs did obtain in the early ages of the church. Besides this, we are told by others, that he dispatched away several persons to preach and propagate the Christian religion in those countries whither the sound of the gospel had not yet arrived. Nor did he only concern himself to propagate Christianity where it wanted, but to preserve the peace of those churches where it was already planted.¹ For an unhappy schism having broken out in the church of Corinth, they sent to Rome to inquire his advice and assistance in it; who in the name of the church, whereof he was governor, wrote back an incomparable epistle to them, to compose and quell, *μιαρᾶν καὶ ἀνόστον σάσιαν* as he calls it,² “that impious and abominable sedition” that was arisen among them. And, indeed, there seems to have been a more intimate and friendly intercourse between these two churches in those times, than between any other mentioned in the writings of the church. The exact time of writing this epistle is not known, the date of it not being certainly determinable by any notices of antiquity, or any intimations in the epistle itself. The conjecture that has obtained with some of most

¹ Hegesip. ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 16, p. 88.

² Epist. ad Corinth p. 3.

note and learning is, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, while the temple and the Levitical ministration were yet standing. Which they collect, I suppose, from a passage where he speaks of them in the present tense.¹ But whoever impartially considers the place, will find no necessary foundation for such an inference, and that St. Clemens's design was only to illustrate his argument, and to show the reasonableness of observing those particular stations and ministries which God has appointed us, by alluding to the ordinances of the Mosaic institution. To me it seems most probable to have been written a little after the persecution under Domitian, and probably not long before Clemens's exile. For excusing the no sooner answering the letters of the church of Corinth, he tells them it was διὰ γένο μένας ἡμῖν συμφορας καὶ περιπτώσεις,² by reason of those calamities and sad accidents that had happened to them. Now plain it is, that no persecution had been raised against the Christians, especially at Rome, from the time of Nero till Domitian. As for Mr. Young's conjecture from this place, that it was written in the time of his banishment; he forgot to consider that the epistle was written not in Clemens's own name, but in the person of the church of Rome. A circumstance that renders the place incapable of being particularly applied to him.

6. By a firm patience and prudent care he weathered out the stormy and troublesome times of Domitian, and the short but peaceable reign of Nerva. When, alas! 'the clouds returned after rain,' and began to thicken into a blacker storm in

¹ Ibid. p. 53

² Ibid. p. 1.

the time of Trajan, an excellent prince indeed, of so sweet and plausible a disposition, of so mild and inoffensive a conversation, that it was ever after a part of their solemn acclamation at the choice of a new elected emperor, *MELIOR TRAJANO*,¹ “better than Trajan.” But withal he was zealous for his religion, and upon that account a severe enemy to Christians. Among several laws enacted in the beginning of his reign, he published one (if Baronius,² which I much question, conjecture the time aright; for Pliny’s epistle,³ upon which he seems to ground it, was probably written at least nine or ten years after,) whereby he forbad the *Heteriæ*, the societies or colleges erected up and down the Roman empire, whereat men were wont to meet, and liberally feast, under a pretence of more convenient dispatch of business, and the maintenance of mutual love and friendship; which yet the Roman state beheld with a jealous eye, as fit nurseries for treason and sedition. Under the notion of these unlawful combinations, the Christian assemblies were looked upon by their enemies; for finding them confederated under one common president, and constantly meeting at their solemn love-feasts, and especially being of a way of worship different from the religion of the empire, they thought they might securely proceed against them as illegal societies, and contemners of the imperial constitution; wherein St. Clemens, as head of the society at Rome, was sure to bear the deepest share. And indeed it was no more than what himself had long expected, as appears from his letter

¹ Eutrop. H. Rom. lib. viii. non longe ab initio.

² Ad. Ann. 100, n. 8. tom. ii.

³ Epistl. 97, lib. x.

to the Corinthians; where having spoken of the torments and sufferings which the holy apostles had undergone, he tells them, that he looked upon himself and his people as *ἐν ἀντῷ τῷ σκάμφατι*, set to run the same race, *καὶ ὁ ἀντὸς ἡμῶν ἀγὼν ἐπίκειται*, and that the same fight and conflict was laid up for them.¹

7. Simeon the metaphrast, in the account of his martyrdom,² (nearly the same with that life of St. Clement, said to be written by an uncertain author, published long since by Lazius, at the end of Abdias Babylonius,) sets down the beginning of his troubles to this effect. St. Clemens having converted Theodora, a noble lady, and afterwards her husband Sisinnius, a kinsman and favourite of the late emperor Nerva, the gaining so great a man quickly drew on others of chief note and quality to embrace the faith. So prevalent is the example of religious greatness to sway men to piety and virtue; but envy naturally maligns the good of others, and hates the instrument that procures it. This good success derived upon him the particular odium of Torcutianus,³ a man of great power and authority at that time in Rome, who by the inferior magistrates of the city, excited the people to a mutiny against the holy man, charging him with magic and sorcery, and for being an enemy and blasphemer of the gods; crying out, either that he should do sacrifice to them, or expiate his impiety with his blood. Mamertinus, praefect of the city, a moderate and prudent man, being willing to appease the uproar, sent for St. Clemens, and mildly persuaded

¹ Ubi supr. p. 9.

² Habetur Græc. et Lat. integrum ap Coteler. loc. cit. p. 826

³ Id. ibid. p. 832.

him to comply ; but finding his resolution inflexible, he sent to acquaint the emperor with the case, who returned this short rescript, that he should either sacrifice to the gods, or be banished to Cherson, a disconsolate city beyond the Pontic Sea. Mamertinus having received the imperial mandate, unwillingly complied with it, and gave order that all things should be made ready for the voyage ; and accordingly he was transported thither, to dig in the marble-quarries, and labour in the mines. *Damnatio ad metalla* is a punishment frequently mentioned in the Roman laws, where it is said to be *proxima morti pæna*, the very next to capital punishments.¹ Indeed the usage under it was very extreme and rigorous : for besides the severest labour and most intolerable hardship, the condemned person was treated with all the instances of inhumanity, whipped and beaten, chained and fettered, deprived of his estate, which was forfeited to the exchequer, and himself perpetually degraded into the condition of a slave, and consequently rendered incapable to make a will.² And not this only, but they were further exposed to the most public marks of infamy and dishonour,³ their heads half shaved, their right eye bored out, their left leg disabled, their foreheads branded with an infamous mark, a piece of disgrace first used in this case by Caligula,⁴ (and the historion notes it as an instance of his cruel temper,) and from him continued till the times of

¹ L. 28, ff. de Pœn. lib. xlviii. tit. 19.

² L. 36, ubi supr. lib. xii. ff. de jur. fisc. lib. xlix. tit. 14, lib. i. de bon. Damnat. lib. viii. Qui test. fac. poss. sect. 4.

³ Cypr. Epist. 77, ad Nemes. p. 155 : Euseb. lib. viii. c. 12, p. 307.

⁴ Sueton. in Vit. Calig. c. 27 p. 428.

Constantine, who abolished it by a law, ann. Ch. 315,¹ not to mention the hunger and thirst, the cold and nakedness, the filth and nastiness, which they were forced to conflict with in those miserable places.

8. Arriving at the place of his uncomfortable exile, he found vast numbers of Christians, condemned to the same miserable fate, whose minds were not a little erected under all their pressures, at the sight of so good a man; by whose constant preaching, and the frequent miracles that he wrought, their enemies were converted into a better opinion of them and their religion; the inhabitants of those countries daily flocking over to the faith, so that in a little time Christianity had beaten paganism out of the field, and all monuments of idolatry thereabouts were defaced and overturned. The fame whereof was quickly carried to the emperor, who dispatched Aufidianus, the president, to put a stop to this growing sect; which by methods of terror and cruelty he set upon, putting great numbers of them to death. But finding how readily and resolutely they pressed up to execution, and that this day's martyrs did but prepare others for to-morrow's torments, he gave over contending with the multitude, and resolved to single out one of note above the rest, whose exemplary punishment might strike dread and terror into the rest. To this purpose St. Clemens is pitched on, and all temptations being in vain tried upon him, the executioners are commanded to carry him aboard, and throw him into the bottom of the sea, where the Christians might despair to find him This

¹ L. ii. Cod. Th. de Pœn. lib. ix. tit. 40

kind of death was called *καταποντισμός*, and was in use not only among the Greeks, as appears by the instance mentioned by Diodorus Siculus,¹ but the Romans, as we find in several malefactors condemned to be thrown into the sea, both by Tiberius and Avidius Cassius.² To this our Lord has respect, when in the case of wilful scandal, he pronounces it better for the man that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the bottom of the sea. Where, though St. Jerome tells us that this punishment was usual among the ancient Jews, in case of more enormous crimes,³ yet do I not remember that any such capital punishment ever prevailed among them. I shall not here relate what I find concerning the strange and miraculous discovery of St. Clemens's body, nor the particular miracle of a little child preserved in the church erected to him in the middle of the sea, for a whole year together, (though solemnly averred by Ephræm, bishop of the place,⁴) as despairing they would ever find a belief wide enough to swallow them, nor those infinite other miracles said to be done there: it shall only suffice to mention one; that upon the anniversary solemnity of his martyrdom the sea retreats on each side into heaps, and leaves a fair and dry passage for three miles together, to the martyr's tomb erected within a church, built (as it must be supposed, by angels) within the sea; and the people's devotions being ended, the sea returns to its own place; *τιμῶντος τῆς Θεᾶς κάνταῦθα τὸν μάρτυρα*, says

¹ Biblioth. lib. 16.

² Sueton. in Vit. Tib. c. 62, g. 336. Vul. Galic. in Avid. Cass. c. 4, p. 247, Mark, ix. 42.

³ Com. in Matt. 18, p. 53, tom. ix.

⁴ Serm. de Mirac. in puer. à S. Clem. fact. ap. Sur. Novemb 23, et Gr. et Lat. ap. Coteler. p. 837.

one of my authors,¹ God by this means doing honour to the martyr. I only add, that these traditions were current before the time of Gregory, bishop of Tours,² who speaks of them with great reverence and devotion. St. Clemens died, (as both Eusebius³ and St. Jerome⁴ witness, for I heed not the account of the Alexandrin Chronicon,⁵ which places it four years after the seventh of Trajan, though the consuls, which he there assigns, properly belong to the fourth of that emperor,) in the third year of Trajan, a little more than two years after his banishment, after he had been sole bishop of Rome nine years, six months, and so many days, say Baronius and others;⁶ though Bucherius's catalogue, more to be trusted, (as being composed before the death of pope Liberius, ann. 354,) nine years, eleven months, and twelve days. His martyrdom happened on the 24th of November, according to Baronius and the ordinary Roman computation, but on the ninth of that month, says the little martyrology published by Bucherius,⁷ and which unquestionably was one of the true and genuine calendars of the ancient church. He was honoured at Rome by a church erected to his memory, yet standing in St. Jerome's time.⁸

9. The writings which at this day bear the name of this apostolic man, are of two sorts, genuine or supposititious. In the first class is that famous epistle to the Corinthians, so much magnified by the

¹ Ibid. p. 841. ² De Mirac. lib. i. c. 35, 36, p. 46.

³ Lib. iii. c. 34, p. 106.

⁴ De Scrip. Eccl. in Clem.

⁵ Ann. 4, Olymp. 220, Ind. i. p. 594.

⁶ Ubi supra. ⁷ Loc. supr. cit p. 269.

⁸ De Script. in Clement.

ancients, *ικανωτάτη γραφὴ* as Irenæus calls it,¹ the most excellent and absolute writing, *μεγάλη τε καὶ ἡμέρασία*, says Eusebius,² a truly great and admirable epistle, and very useful as St. Jerome adds,³ *ἀξιόλογος*, as Photius styles it,⁴ worthy of all esteem and veneration, *ἀνωμολογεμένη παρὰ πᾶσι*, as Eusebius assures us,⁵ received by all, and indeed reverenced by them next to the holy Scriptures, and therefore, publicly read in their churches for some ages, even till his time, and it may be a long time after. The style of it, as Photius truly observes,⁶ is very plain and simple, imitating an ecclesiastical and unaffected way of writing, and which breathes the true genius and spirit of the apostolic age. It was written upon occasion of a great schism and sedition in the church of Corinth, begun by two or three factious persons against the governors of the church, who envying either the gifts, or the authority and esteem of their guides and teachers, had attempted to depose them, and had drawn the greatest part of the church into the conspiracy; whom therefore he endeavours, by soft words and hard arguments, to reduce back to peace and unity. His modesty and humility in it are peculiarly discernible, not only that he wholly writes it in the name of the church of Rome, without so much as ever mentioning his own, but in that he treats them with such gentle and mild persuasives. Nothing of sourness, or an imperious lording it over God's heritage to be seen in the whole epistle. Had he known himself

¹ Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. ap Euseb. lib. v. c. 6, p. 170.

² Lib. iii. c. 16, p. 88. ³ De Script. Eccl. in Clem.

⁴ Cod. cxii. col. 28, c.

⁵ Ibid. c. 38, p. 110.

⁶ Cod. cxxvi. col. 305.

to be the infallible judge of controversies, to whose sentence the whole Christian world was bound to stand, invested with a supreme unaccountable power, from which there lay no appeal, we might have expected to have heard him argue at another rate. But these were the encroachments and usurpations of later ages, when a spirit of covetousness and secular ambition had stifled the modesty and simplicity of those first and best ages of religion. There is so great an affinity in many things, both as to words and matter, between this and the epistle to the Hebrews, as tempted Eusebius and St. Jerome of old, and some others before them, to conclude St. Clemens at least the translator of that epistle.¹ This epistle to the Corinthians, after it had been generally bewailed as lost, for many ages, was not more to the benefit of the church in general, than the honour of our own in particular, some forty years since, published here in England, a treasure not sufficiently to be valued. Besides this first, there is the fragment of a second epistle, or rather homily, containing a serious exhortation and direction to a pious life; ancient indeed, and which many will persuade us to be his, and to have been written many years before the former, as that which betrays no footsteps of troublesome and unquiet times; but Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Photius assure us, that it was rejected, and never obtained among the ancients equal approbation with the first.² And therefore, though we do not peremptorily determine against its being his, yet we think it safer to acquiesce in the judgment of the ancients, than of some few late writers in this matter.

¹ Ibid.

² Locis supr. cit.

10. As for those writings that are undoubtedly spurious and supposititious, disowned, as Eusebius says,¹ because they did not καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὁρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζειν τὸν καραχατῆρα retain the true stamp and character of orthodox apostolic doctrine; though the truth is, he speaks it only of the Dialogues of Peter and Appion, not mentioning the decretal epistles, as not worth taking notice of. There are four extant at this day, that are entitled to him; the Apostolical Canons and the Constitutions, (said to be penned by him, though dictated by the apostles,) the Recognitions, and the Epistle to St. James. For the two first, the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions, I have declared my sense of them in another place,² to which I shall add nothing here. The Recognitions succeed, conveyed to us under different titles by the ancients; sometimes styled St. Clemens's Acts, History, Chronicle; sometimes St. Peter's Acts, Itinerary, Periods, Dialogues with Appion, all which are unquestionably but different inscriptions (or it may be parcels) of the same book. True it is what Photius³ suspected, and Rufinus⁴ (who translated it) expressly tells us, that there were two several editions of this book, differing in some things, but the same in most. And it deserves to be considered, whether the τὰ Κλημέντια, mentioned by Nicephorus,⁵ and which he says the church received, and denies to be those meant by Eusebius, and those Clementine Homilies lately published under that very name, be not that other edition of the Recognitions, seeing they exactly answer Rufinus's character; differ-

¹ Ibid. p. 110.

² Præf. to Primit. Christianity.

³ Cod. cxii. col. 289.

⁴ Præfat. ad Gaudent. p. 397.

⁵ H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 18, p. 248.

ing in some things, but in most agreeing with them. There is yet a third edition, or rather abstract out of all, styled Κλήμεντος περὶ τῶν πράξεων, &c : Clemens's Epitome of the Acts, Travels, and Preachings of St. Peter, agreeing with the former, though keeping more close to the homilies than the other. This I guess to have been compiled by Simeon the metaphrast; as for other reasons, so especially because the appendage added to it by the same hand, concerning Clemens's martyrdom, is word for word the same with that of Metaphrastes, the close of it only excepted, which is taken out of St. Ephraem's homily of the miracle done at his tomb.

11. The Recognitions themselves are undoubtedly of very great antiquity, written about the same time, and by the same hand (as Blondel¹ probably conjectures) with the Constitutions, about the year 180, or not long after. Sure I am, they are cited by Origen² as the work of Clemens, in his Periods, and his large quotation is in so many words extant in them at this day.³ Nay, before him we meet with a very long fragment of Bardesanes, the Syrian,⁴ (who flourished ann. 180,) concerning fate, word for word the same with what we find in the Recognitions; and it seems equally reasonable to suppose that Bardesanes had it thence, as that the other borrowed it from him. Nay, what if Bardesanes himself was the author of these books? It is certain that he was a man of great parts and learning, a man prompt and eloquent, καὶ διάλεκτικώτατος

¹ Pseudo-Isid. p. 28. ² Philocal. c. 23, §. 81, 82.

³ Recognit. lib. x.

⁴ Extat. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. vi. c. 10. p. 273, et seq. vid. Recognit. lib. ix. p. 503, &c.

an acute and subtle disputant,¹ heretically inclined, for he came out of the school of Valentinus, whose uncouth notions he had so deeply imbibed, that even after his recantation, he could never get clear from the dregs of them, as Eusebius informs us: though Epiphanius tells us, he was first orthodox, and afterwards fell into the errors of that sect, like a well-freighted ship, that having duly performed its voyage, is cast away in the very sight of the harbour. He was a great mathematician and astrologer, ἐπ' ἄκρον Χαλδαικῆς ἐπιτίηγες ἐληλακώς,² accurately versed in Chaldaean learning, and wrote incomparable dialogues concerning fate, which he dedicated to the emperor Antoninus. And surely none can have looked into the Recognitions, but he must see what a considerable part the doctrines concerning fate, the genesis, the influence of the stars and heavenly constellations, and such like notions, make there of St. Peter's and St. Clemens's dialogues and discourses. To which we may add what Photius has observed,³ and is abundantly evident from the thing itself, that these books are considerable for their clearness and perspicuity, their eloquent style, and grave discourses, and that great variety of learning that is in them; plainly showing their composer to have been a master in all human learning, and the study of philosophy. I might further remark, that Bardesanes seems to have had a peculiar genius for books of this nature, it being particularly noted of him, that besides the Scriptures, he traded in cer-

¹ Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 30, p. 151; Epiph. Hæres. lvi. p. 207.

² Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. vi. c. 9, p. 273.

³ Ubi supra.

tain apocryphal writings.¹ He wrote *πλεῖσα συγγράμματα*,² which St. Jerome renders “infinite volumes;” written indeed for the most part in Syriac, but which his scholars translated into Greek, though he himself was sufficiently skilful in that language, as Epiphanius notes. In the number of these books might be the Recognitions, plausibly fathered upon St. Clemens, who was notoriously known to be St. Peter’s companion and disciple: and were but some of his many books now extant, I doubt not but a much greater affinity both in style and notions would appear between them. But this I propose only as a probable conjecture, and leave it at the reader’s pleasure either to reject or entertain it. I am not ignorant that both St. Jerome³ and Photius⁴ charge these books with heretical opinions, especially some derogatory of the honour of the Son of God, which it may be Rufinus (who confesses the same thing, and supposes them to have been inserted by some heretical hand⁵) concealed in his translation: nay, Epiphanius tells us,⁶ that the Ebionites did so extremely corrupt them, that they scarce left anything of St. Clemens sound and true in them, which he observes from their repugnancy to his other writings, those Encyclical epistles of his (as he calls them) which were read in the churches. But then it is plain, he means it only of those copies which were in the possession of those heretics, probably not now extant, nor do any of those particular adulterations which he says

¹ Epiph. loc. cit.

² Euseb. H. Ec. ubi supra. de Script. Eccl. in Bardes.

³ Apol. adv. Rufin. p. 219. ⁴ Phot. Cod. cxii. col. 289.

⁵ Apolog. pro Orig. ap Hieron, tom. iv. p. 195.

⁶ Hæres. xxx. p. 65.

they made in them, appear in our books, nor in those large and, to be sure, uncorrupt fragments of Bardesanes and Origen is there the least considerable variation from those books which we have at this day. But of this enough.

12. The epistle to St. James, the brother of our Lord is, no doubt, of equal date with the rest; in the close whereof the author pretends, that he was commanded by St. Peter to give him an account of his travels, discourses, and the success of his ministry, under the title of Clemens's Epitome of Peter's popular Preachings, to which he tells him he would next proceed. So that this epistle originally was nothing but a preface to St. Peter's Acts or Periods; (the same in effect with the Recognitions;) and, accordingly, in the late edition of the Clementine Homilies, (which have the very title mentioned in that epistle,) it is found prefixed before them. This epistle (as Photius tells us) varied according to different editions; sometimes pretending that it, and the account of St. Peter's Acts annexed to it, were written by St. Peter himself, and by him sent to St. James; sometimes that they were written by Clemens, at St. Peter's instance and command. Whence he conjectures that there was a twofold edition of St. Peter's Acts, one said to be written by himself, the other by Clemens; and that when in time the first was lost, that pretending to St. Clemens did remain: for so he assures us he constantly found it, in those many copies that he met with, notwithstanding that the epistle and inscription were sometimes different and various. By the original whereof, now published, appears the fraud of the factors of the Romish church, who in all Latin editions have

added an appendix almost twice as large as the epistle itself. And well had it been, had this been the only instance wherein some men, to shore up a tottering cause, have made bold with the writers of the ancient church.

His writings:—*Genuine*, “Epistola ad Corin-thios.” *Doubtful*, “Epistola ad Corinth. secunda.” *Supposititious*, “Epistola ad Jacobum Fratrem Domini.” “Recognitionum, lib. x.” Τὰ Κλημέντια, seu, “Homiliae Clementinæ.” “Constitutionum. App. lib. viii.” “Canones Apostolici.”

ST. IGNATIUS.

FINDING nothing recorded concerning the country or parentage of this holy man, I shall not build upon mere fancy and conjecture. He is ordinarily styled, both by himself and others, *Theophorus*; which, though like *Justus*, it be oft no more than a common epithet, yet is it sometimes used as a proper name. It is written according to the different nations, either Θεοφόρος; and then it denotes a divine person, a man whose soul is full of God, and all holy and divine qualities, Ο τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ περιφέρων, as Ignatius himself is said to explain it; or Θεόφορος, and so, in a passive signification it implies one that is borne or carried, by God. And in this latter sense he is said to have derived the title, from our Lord's taking him up into his arms. For thus we are told, that he was that very child whom our Saviour took into his arms, and set in the midst of his disciples, as the most lively instance of innocence and humility.¹ And this is affirmed (if number might carry it) not only by the Greeks² in the public rituals; by Me-

¹ Mark, ix. 36; Matt. xviii. 2—4.

² Mænæon Græcor. Τῇ εἰκοσῃ τῷ Δεκεμβρὶ.

taphrastes,¹ Nicephorus,² and others, but (as the primate of Armagh³ observes from the manuscripts in his own possession) by two Syriac writers, more ancient than they. But how confidently or generally soever it be reported, the story at best is precarious and uncertain, not to say absolutely false and groundless. Sure I am St. Chrysostom⁴ (who had far better opportunities of knowing than they) expressly affirms of Ignatius, that he never saw our Saviour, or enjoyed any familiarity or converse with him.

2. In his younger years, he was brought up under apostolical institution: so Chrysostom tells us,⁵ that he was intimately conversant with the apostles, educated and nursed up by them, everywhere at hand, and made partaker, *ρητῶν καὶ ἀποθέσηπων*, both of their familiar discourses, and more secret and uncommon mysteries. Which, though it is probable he means of his particular conversation with St. Peter and Paul; yet some of the forementioned authors, and not they only, but the acts of his martyrdom,⁶ written as is supposed by some present at it, further assure us, that he was St. John's disciple. Being fully instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, he was, for his eminent parts, and the great piety of his life, chosen to be bishop of Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, and the most famous and renowned

¹ Metaphr. ad Decem. 20, Græc. et Lat. apud Coteler. p. 991. ² Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 35, p. 192.

³ Annot. in Ignat. Act. p. 37. "Οντως φερωνύμως κέκλησαι Θεόδοσιος, πάτερ. Νῆπιος γάρ ἐπι κομιῆ ἡ πάροχων εἰς χεῖρας τῆς Κυρίας φέρουσας. ἵστασθε ἀραδιοῦντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς γινεσθέ μοι, ὡς τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο.—Men. Græc. loc. citat.

⁴ Homil. in S. Ignat. p. 506, tom. i.

⁵ Ibid. p. 499.

⁶ Act. Ignat. p. 1, et 5, edit. Usser.

city of the east; not more remarkable among foreign writers for being the oriental seat of the Roman emperors, and their viceroys and governors, than it is in ecclesiastics, for its eminent entertainment of the Christian faith, its giving the venerable title of Christians to the disciples of the holy Jesus, and St. Peter's first and peculiar residence in this place. Whence the synod of Constantinople,¹ assembled under Nectarius, in their synodical epistle to the western bishops, deservedly call it "the most ancient and truly apostolic church of Antioch, in which the honourable name of Christians did first commence." In all which respects it is frequently in the writings of the church, by a proud kind of title, styled Θεάπολις, or the City of God. That Ignatius was constituted bishop of this church, is allowed on all hands; though, as to the time and order of his coming to it, almost the same difficulties occur which before did in Clemens's succession to the see of Rome, possibly not readily to be removed but by the same method of solution, easily granted in this case by Baronius himself,² and some other writers of note in that church. I shall not need to prove what is evident enough in itself, and plainly acknowledged by the ancients; that Peter and Paul planted Christianity in this city, and both concurred to the foundation of this church; the one applying himself to the Jews, the other to the Gentiles. And large enough was the vineyard to admit the joint endeavours of these two great planters of the gospel; it being a vast populous city, containing at that time, according to St.

¹ Ap. Theodoret. H. Eccl. lib. v. c. 9, p. 211.

² Ad Ann. 45, n. 14, vid. Ad. Martyr. Rom. Feb. 1, p. 88.

Chrysostom's computation, no less than two hundred thousand souls. But the apostles (who could not stay always in one place) being called off to the ministry of other churches, saw it necessary to substitute others in their room ; the one resigning his trust to Euodius, the other to Ignatius. Hence, in the Apostolic Constitutions,¹ Euodius is said to be ordained bishop of Antioch by St. Peter, and Ignatius, by St. Paul ; till Euodius dying, and the Jewish converts being better reconciled to the Gentiles, Ignatius succeeded in the sole care and presidency over that church, wherein he might possibly be afterwards confirmed by Peter himself. In which respect probably the author of the Alexandrine Chronicon² meant it, when he affirms, that Ignatius was constituted bishop of Antioch by the apostles. By this means he may be said both immediately to succeed the apostle, as Origen,³ Eusebius,⁴ Athanasius,⁵ and Chrysostom⁶ affirm ; and withal to be the next after Euodius, as St. Jerome,⁷ Socrates,⁸ Metaphrastes,⁹ and others place him. However, Euodius dying, and he being settled in it by the apostles' hands, might be justly said to succeed St. Peter ; in which sense it is, that some of the ancients expressly affirm him to have received his consecration from St. Peter, *ιὰ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου δεξιᾶς τῆς ἀρχιεροσύνης τῷ χάριν ἐδιέκατο*, says Theodoret ;¹⁰ and so their own historian relates

¹ Lib. vii. c. 47, p. 451. ² Ad An. Tib. 19, p. 526.

³ Orig. Hom. 6, in Iac. p. 214.

⁴ Euseb. H. Ec. lib. iii. c. 36, p. 106.

⁵ Athan. de Synod. Arim. et Seleu. p. 922.

⁶ Chrysost. lec. cit. p. 500. ⁷ Hier. de scr. in Ignat.

⁸ Socr. H. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 8, p. 313.

⁹ Metaph. ubi supr.

¹⁰ De Immutab. Dialog. 1, p. 33, tom. iv.

it,¹ that Peter coming to Antioch in his passage to Rome, and finding Euodius lately dead, committed the government of it to Ignatius, whom he made bishop of that place: though it will be a little difficult to reconcile the times to an agreement with that account.

3. Somewhat above forty years St. Ignatius continued in his charge at Antioch, (Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, assigns him but four years; the figure μ , for forty, being probably, through the carelessness of transcribers, slipped out of the account,) in the midst of very stormy and tempestuous times. But he, like a wise and prudent pilot, sat at the stern, and declined the dangers that threatened them, by his prayers and tears, his fastings, and the constancy of his preaching, and those indefatigable pains he took among them, fearing lest any of the more weak and unsettled Christians might be overborne with the storms of persecution.² Never did a little calm and quiet interval happen, but he rejoiced in the prosperity of the church: though, as to himself, he somewhat impatiently expected and longed for martyrdom, without which he accounted he could never perfectly attain to the love of Christ, nor fill up the duty and measures of a true disciple; which accordingly afterwards became his portion. Indeed, as to the particular acts of his government, nothing memorable is recorded of him in the antiquities of the church, more than what Socrates³ relates, (by what authority I confess I know not,) that he saw a vision, wherein he heard the angels, with alternate hymns, celebrating

¹ Jo. Malel. Chron. lib. x. ap. Usser. Not. in Epist. ad An-tioch. p. 107.

² Act. Ignat. p. 1, 2.

³ H. Eccl. loc. citat.

the honour of the Holy Trinity, in imitation whereof he instituted the way of antiphonal hymns in the church of Antioch; which thence spread itself over the whole Christian church. Whether this story was made on purpose to outvie the Arians, who were wont, on the sabbaths and Lord's-days, to sing alternate hymns in their congregations, with some tart reflections upon the orthodox, insomuch that Chrysostom was forced to introduce the same way of singing into the orthodox assemblies; or whether it was really instituted by Ignatius, but afterwards grown into disuse, I will not say. Certain it is, that Flavianus, afterwards bishop of Antioch, in the reign of Constantius, is said to have been the first that thus established the choir,¹ and appointed David's Psalms to be sung by turns; which thence propagated itself to other churches. St. Ambrose was the first that brought it into the western church, reviving (says the historian²) the ancient institution of Ignatius, long disused among the Greeks. But to return.

4. It was about the year of Christ 107, when Trajan, the emperor, swelled with his late victory over the Scythians and the Daci, about the ninth year of his reign, came to Antioch, to make preparation for the war which he was resolved to make upon the Parthians and Armenians. He entered the city with the pomps and solemnities of a triumph; and as his first care usually was about the concernments of religion, he began presently to inquire into that affair. Indeed he looked upon it as an affront to his other victories to be conquered

¹ Theodoret. H. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 24, p. 107.

² Siebert. Chr. ad Ann. Chr. 387.

by Christians;¹ and therefore, to make his religion stoop, had already commenced a persecution against them in other parts of the empire, which he resolved to carry on here. St. Ignatius (whose solicitude for the good of his flock made him continually stand upon his guard) thinking it more prudent to go himself than stay to be sent for, of his own accord presented himself to the emperor,² between whom there is said to have passed a large and particular discourse; the emperor wondering that he dared to transgress his laws, while the good man asserted his own innocence, and the power which God hath given them over evil spirits, and that the gods of the Gentiles were no better than demons, there being but one supreme Deity, who made the world, and his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, who, though crucified under Pilate, had yet destroyed him that had the power of sin, that is, the devil, and would ruin the whole power and empire of the demons, and tread it under the feet of those who carried God in their hearts. The issue was, that he was cast into prison; where (if what the Greek rituals³ and some others report, be true) he was, for the constancy and resolution of his profession, subjected to the most severe and merciless torments, whipped with *plumbatae*, scourges with leaden bullets at the end of them, forced to hold fire in his hands, while his sides were burnt with paper dipped in oil, his feet stood upon live coals, and his flesh was torn off with burning pincers. Having, by an invincible patience, overcome the malice and cruelty of his tormentors, the emperor pronounced the final

¹ Act. ib. p. 2.

² Act. Ign. p. 3.

Tῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ μηνὶ τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου.

sentence upon him,¹ that being incurably overrun with superstition, he should be carried bound by soldiers to Rome, and there thrown as a prey to wild beasts. The good man heartily rejoiced at the fatal decree: "I thank thee, O Lord," said he, "that thou hast condescended thus perfectly to honour me with thy love, and hast thought me worthy, with thy apostle Paul, to be bound with iron chains." With that he cheerfully embraced his chains, and having fervently prayed for his church, and with tears recommended it to the divine care and providence, he delivered up himself into the hands of his keepers, that were appointed to transport him to the place of execution.

5. It may justly seem strange, and it was that which puzzled the great Scaliger,² why he should be sent so vast a way, from Antioch in Syria, to be martyred at Rome. Whereof these probable accounts may be rendered. First, it was usual with the governors of provinces, where the malefactors were more than ordinarily eminent, either for the quality of their persons, or the nature of their crimes, to send them to Rome, that their punishment might be made exemplary in the eye of the world. Secondly, his enemies were not willing he should suffer at home, where he was too much honoured and esteemed already, and where his death would but raise him into a higher veneration with the people, and settle their minds in a firmer belief of that faith, which he had taught them, and which they then saw him sealing with his blood. Thirdly, by so long a journey, they hoped that in all places

¹ Act. Martyr. p. 4.

² Animadv. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 207.

where he came, men would be more effectually terrified from the embracing that religion, which they saw so much distasted and resented by the emperor, and the profession whereof could not be purchased but at so dear a rate; besides the probability, that by this usage the constancy of Ignatius himself might be broken, and he forced to yield. Fourthly, they designed to make the good man's punishment as severe and heavy as they could; and therefore so contrived it, that there might be a concurrence of circumstances to render it bitter and grievous to him. His great age, being then probably above fourscore years old, the vast length and tediousness of the journey, (which was not a little increased by the *μακρότεροι διαύλοι τῆς δρόμου*, as St. Chrysostom observes,¹ their going the furthest way about, for they went not the direct passage to Rome, but by infinite windings, diverted from place to place,) the trouble and difficulty of the passage, bad at all times, but much worse now in winter, the want of all necessary conveniences and accommodations for so aged and infirm a person, the rude and merciless usage of his keepers, who treated him with all ruggedness and inhumanity: "From Syria even to Rome, both by sea and land, I fight with beasts: night and day I am chained to ten leopards, (which is my military guard,) who, the kinder I am to them, are the more cruel and fierce to me," as himself complains.² Besides, what was dearer to him than all this, his credit and reputation might be in danger to suffer with him; seeing, at so great a distance, the Romans

¹ Homil. cit. p. 504.

² Epist. ad Rom. p. 23, et ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 36, p. 107.

were generally more likely to understand him to suffer as a malefactor for some notorious crime, than as a martyr for religion ; and this Metaphrastes assures us, was one particular end of his sending thither.¹ Not to say that beyond all this, the divine providence (which knows how to bring good out of evil, and to overrule the designs of bad men to wise and excellent purposes) might the rather permit it to be so, that the leading so great a man so far in triumph, might make the faith more remarkable and illustrious, that he might have the better opportunity to establish and confirm the Christians, who flocked to him from all parts as he came along ; and by giving them the example of a generous virtue, arm them with the stronger resolution to die for their religion, and especially that he might seal the truth of his religion at Rome, where his death might be διδασκάλιος τῆς εὐσεβείας, (as Chrysostom speaks,²) "a tutor of piety," and teach κἀκείνην φιλοσοφεῖν, the city that was so famous for arts and wisdom, a new and better philosophy than they had learned before. To all which may be added, that this was done not by the provincial governor, who had indeed power of executing capital punishments within his own province, (which seems to have been the main ground of Scaliger's scruple,) but immediately by the emperor himself, whose pleasure and command it was that he should be sent to Rome ; whither we must now follow him to his martyrdom : in the account whereof we shall, for the main, keep to the acts of it, written, in all probability, by Philo and Agathopus, the com-

¹ Martyr. ubi supr. 995.

² Vid. Chrysost. Homil. cit. p. 505.

³ Ibid.

panions of his journey, and present at his passion ; two ancient versions whereof the incomparable bishop Usher first recovered and published to the world.

6. Being consigned to a guard of ten soldiers,¹ he took his leave of his beloved Antioch, (and a sad parting no doubt there was between him and his people ; who were to see his face no more,) and was conducted on foot to Seleucia, a port-town of Syria, about sixteen miles distant thence ; the very place whence Paul and Barnabas set sail for Cyprus. Here, going aboard, after a tedious and difficult voyage, they arrived at Smyrna, a famous city of Ionia, where they were no sooner set on shore, but he went to salute St. Polycarp, bishop of the place, his old fellow-pupil under St. John the apostle. Joyful was the meeting of these two holy men ; St. Polycarp being so far from being discouraged, that he rejoiced in the other's chains, and earnestly pressed him to a firm and final perseverance. Hither came in the country round about, especially the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of Asian churches, to behold so venerable a sight, to partake of the holy martyr's prayers and blessing, and to encourage him to hold on to his consummation. To requite whose kindness, and for their further instruction and establishment in the faith, he wrote letters from hence to several churches ;² one to the Ephesians, wherein he commends Onesimus their bishop for his singular charity ; another to the Magnesians, a city seated upon the river Meander, which he sent by Damas their bishop, Bassus and

¹ Act. Ignat. p. 5.

² Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 36, p. 107.

Apollonius, presbyters, and Sotio, deacon of that church; a third to the Trallians, by Polybius their bishop, wherein he particularly presses them to subjection to their spiritual guides, and to avoid those pestilent heretical doctrines that were then risen in the church. A fourth he wrote to the Christians at Rome, to acquaint them with his present state, and passionate desire not to be hindered in that course of martyrdom which he was now hastening to accomplish.

7. His keepers, a little impatient of their stay at Smyrna, set sail for Troas, a noted city of the lesser Phrygia, not far from the ruins of the ancient Troy: where, at his arrival, he was not a little refreshed with the news that he received, of the persecution ceasing in the church of Antioch. Hither several churches sent their messengers to visit and salute him; and hence he dispatched two epistles, one to the church of Philadelphia, to press them to love and unity, and to stand fast in the truth and simplicity of the gospel; the other to the church of Smyrna, from whence he lately departed, which he sent, as also the former, by Burrhus the deacon, whom they and the Ephesians had sent to wait upon him; and together with that, (as Eusebius informs us,¹) he wrote privately to St. Polycarp, particularly recommending to him the care and oversight of the church of Antioch, for which, as a vigilant pastor, he could not but have a tender and very dear regard; though very learned men, (but certainly without any just reason,) think this not to have been a distinct epistle from the former; but jointly directed and intended to St. Polycarp and

¹ Loc. cit. p. 107.

his church of Smyrna. Which, however it be, they conclude it as certain that the epistle to St. Polycarp now extant, is none of it, as in which nothing of the true temper and spirit of Ignatius does appear; while others of great note not improbably contend for it as genuine and sincere. From Troas they sailed to Neapolis, a maritime town of Macedonia, thence to Philippi, a Roman colony, (the very same journey which St. Paul had gone before him,¹) where, (as Polycarp intimates in his epistle to that church,²) they were entertained with all imaginable kindness and courtesy, and conducted forwards in their journey. Hence they passed on foot through Macedonia and Epirus, till they came to Epidamnum, a city of Dalmatia; where again taking ship they sailed through the Adriatic, and arrived at Regium, a port town in Italy, whence they directed their course through the Tyrrhenian Sea to Puteoli; Ignatius desiring (if it might have been granted) thence to have gone by land, that he might have traced the same way, by which St. Paul went to Rome. After a day and a night's stay at Puteoli, a prosperous wind quickly carried them to the Roman port, the great harbour and station for their navy, built near Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, about sixteen miles from Rome; whither the holy martyr longed to come, as much desirous to be at the end of his race, as his keepers, weary of their voyage, were to be at the end of their journey.

8. The Christians at Rome, daily expecting his arrival, were come out to meet and entertain him;

¹ Act. xvi. 11, 12.

² Epist. Polycarp. ad Philip. p. 13, non longe ab init.

and accordingly received him with equal resentment of joy and sorrow. Glad they were of the presence and company of so great and good a man; but quickly found their joy allayed with the remembrance, how soon, and by how severe a death he was to be taken from them: and when some of them did but intimate, that possibly the people might be taken off from desiring his death, he expressed a pious indignation, entreating them to cast no rubs in his way, nor do any thing that might hinder him, now he was hastening to his crown. Being conducted to Rome, he was presented to the praefect of the city; and, as it is probable, the emperor's letters concerning him were delivered. In the mean time, while things were preparing for his martyrdom, he and the brethren that resorted to him, improved their time to pious purposes; he prayed with them and for them; heartily recommended the state of the church to the care and protection of our blessed Saviour, and earnestly solicited heaven, that it would stop the persecution that was begun, and bless Christians with a true love and charity towards one another. That his punishment might be the more pompous and public, one of their solemn festivals, the time of their Saturnalia, and that part of it when they celebrated their Sigillaria, was pitched on for his execution; at which time they were wont to entertain the people with the bloody conflicts of gladiators, and the hunting of, and fighting with wild beasts. Accordingly, on the 13th of the calends of January, that is, December 20, he was brought out into the amphitheatre, and according to his own fervent desire, that he might have no other grave but the bellies of wild beasts, the lions were let loose upon him, whose roaring alarm he

entertained with no other concernment, than that now, as God's own corn, he should be ground between the teeth of these wild beasts, and become white bread for his heavenly Master. The lions were not long doing their work, but quickly dispatched their meal, and left nothing but what they could not well devour, a few hard and solid bones. This throwing of persons to wild beasts was accounted among the Romans, *inter summa supplicia*,¹ and was never used but for very capital offences, and towards the vilest and most despicable malefactors, under which rank they beheld the Christians, who were so familiarly destined to this kind of death, (that, as Tertullian tells us,²) upon any trifling and frivolous pretence, if a famine or an earthquake did but happen, the common outcry was, *Christianos ad leones*, "Away with the Christians to the lions."

9. Among other Christians that were mournful spectators of this tragic scene, were the deacons I mentioned, who had been the companions of his journey, who bore not the least part in the sorrows of that day. And that they might not return home with nothing but the account of so sad a story, they gathered up the bones which the wild beasts had spared, and transported them to Antioch, where they were joyfully received, and honourably entombed in the cemetery, without the gate that leads to Daphne.³ A passage which Chrysostom, according to his rhetorical vein, elegantly amplifies

¹ Paul. JC. Sent. lib. v. tit. 23; I. 3, sect. 5, ff. ad leg. Cornel. de Sicar. et Venes.

² Apolog. c. 40, p. 32.

³ Act. Ignat. p. 8, Metaph. loc. cit. Men. Græc. Τὴ κθ' τοῦ Ιανεαρ. Hieron. de Script. in Ignat.

as the great honour and treasure of that place. From hence, in the reign of Theodosius,¹ they were, by his command, with mighty pomp and solemnity, removed to the Tychæon within the city; a temple heretofore dedicated to the public genius of the city, but now consecrated to the memory of the martyr. And for their translation afterwards to Rome, and the miracles said to be done by them, they that are further curious, may inquire. For indeed I am not now at leisure for these things. But I can direct the reader to one that will give him very punctual and particular accounts of them, and in what places the several parcels of his relics are bestowed;² no less than five churches in Rome enriched with them, besides others in Naples, Sicily, France, Flanders, Germany, and indeed where not? And verily, but that some men have a very happy faculty at doing wonders by multiplication, a man would be apt to wonder how a few bones (and they were not many which the lions spared) could be able to serve so many several churches. I could likewise tell him a long story of the various travels and donations of St. Ignatius's head, and by what good fortune it came at last to the Jesuits' college at Rome, where it is richly enshrined, solemnly and religiously worshipped, but that I am afraid my reader will give me no thanks for my pains.

10. About this time, or a little before, while Trajan was yet at Antioch, he stopped, or at least mitigated the persecution against Christians; for having had an account from Pliny,³ the proconsul

¹ Euagr. H. Ec. lib. i. c. 16, p. 274.

² Bolland. ad diem 1 Feb. p. 35, &c.

³ Ep. 97, lib. x. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 34, p. 105; J. M. Chron. lib. xi. ap. Usser. not. in. Ignat. Epist. p. 43.

of Bithynia, (whom he had employed to that purpose,) concerning the innocence and simplicity of the Christians, that they were a harmless and inoffensive generation; and lately received a letter from Tiberianus, governor of Palestina Prima,¹ wherein he told him, that he was wearied out in executing the laws against the Galileans, who crowded themselves in such multitudes to execution, that he could neither by persuasion nor threatenings keep them from owning themselves to be Christians, further praying his majesty's advice in that affair: hereupon he gave command, that no inquisition should be made after the Christians, though if any of them offered themselves, execution should be done upon them: so that the fire which had hitherto flamed and burned out, began now to be extinguished, and only crept up and down in private corners. There are that tell us, that Trajan having heard a full account of Ignatius and his sufferings, and how undauntedly he had undergone that bitter death, repented of what he had done, and was particularly moved to mitigate and relax the persecution:² whereby (as Metaphrastes observes) not only Ignatius's life, but his death became *πολλῶν πρόξενος ἀγαθῶν* the procurer of great peace and prosperity, and the glory and establishment of the Christian faith. Some not improbably conceive, that the severe judgments which happened not long after, might have a peculiar influence to dispose the emperor's mind to more tenderness and pity for the remainder of his life. For during his abode at Antioch,

¹ Exstat. ap Jo. Mal. loc. cit. ap. Usser. Appen. Ignat. p. 9: vid. Excerpt. ex Jo. Anticch. à Val. edit. p. 818.

² Sim. Met. Martyr. Ignat. apud. Coteler. p. 1002.

there were dreadful and unusual earthquakes, fatal to other places, but which fell most heavy upon Antioch, at that time full more than ordinary, with a vast army and confluence of people from all parts of the world.¹ Among thousands that died, and far greater numbers that were maimed and wounded, Pedo the consul lost his life; and Trajan himself, had he not escaped out at a window, had undergone the same fate. Accidents which I doubt not prepared his mind to a more serious consideration and regard of things. Though these calamities happened not till some years after Ignatius's death.

11. Whether these judgments were immediate instances of the Divine displeasure for the severity used against the Christians, and particularly for their cruelty to Ignatius, I will not say. Certain it is, that the Christian church had a mighty loss in so useful and excellent a person. For he was a good man, one in whose breast the true spirit of religion did eminently dwell; a man of very moderate and mortified affections. in which sense he doubtless intended that famous saying, so much celebrated by the ancients, Ο ΕΜΟΣ ΕΡΩΣ ΕΣΤΑΥΡΩΤΑΙ, “My love is crucified;” that is, (for to that purpose he explains it in the very words that follow,) his appetites and desires were crucified to the world, and all the lusts and pleasures of it. We may, with St. Chrysostom, consider him in a threefold capacity, as an apostle, a bishop, and a martyr.² As an apostle (in the larger acceptation of the word, he being ὅρονων διάδοχος τῶν Ἀποστό-

¹ Dio. Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. lxviii. et Xiphil. in Vit. Traj. p. 249—251; Jo. Malel. Chro. lib. x. ubi supr.

² Orat. supr. laud. p. 499.

λων, as the Greek offices style him, “the immediate successor of the apostles in their see”¹) he was careful to diffuse and propagate the genuine doctrine which he had received of the apostles, and took a kind of oecumenical care of all churches. Even in his passage to Rome he surveyed τὰς κατὰ πόλιν παροικίας, as Eusebius tells us, the diocesses, or churches, that belonged to all the cities whither he came; confirming them by his sermons and exhortations, and directing epistles to several of the principals for their further order and establishment in the faith.² As a bishop, he was a diligent, faithful, and industrious pastor, infinitely careful of his charge; which though so exceedingly vast and numerous, he prudently instructed, governed, and superintended, and that in the midst of ticklish and troublesome times, above forty years together. He had a true and unchangeable love for his people; and when ravished from them in order to his martyrdom, there was not any church to whom he wrote, but he particularly begged their prayers to God for his church at Antioch;³ and of some of them desired that they would send Θεοπρεστευτὴν, a divine ambassador thither, on purpose to comfort them, and to congratulate their happy deliverance from the persecution. And because he knew that the prosperity of the church and the good of souls were no less undermined by heresy from within, than assaulted by violence and persecution from without, he had a peculiar eye to that, and took all occasions of warning the church to beware of he-

¹ Men. Græc. Τῆς κ'. τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου.

² H. Ec. l. c. xxxvi. p. 106.

³ Ep. ad. Eph. p. 9, ad Magnes. p. 15, ad Trallian.

ad Rom. p. 25, ad Philadelph. p. 31, ad Smyrn. p. 37.

retics and seducers, τὰ θηρία τὰ ἀνθρωπομορφα, as he styles them; those beasts in the shape of men, whose wild notions and brutish manners began even then to embase religion, and corrupt the simplicity of the faith.¹ Indeed, he duly filled up all the measures of a wise governor, and an excellent guide of souls: and St. Chrysostom runs through the particular characters of the bishop delineated by St. Paul, and finds them all accomplished and made good in him;² with so generous a care, (says he,) so exact a diligence did he preside over the flock of Christ, even to the making good what our Lord describes, ὡς μέγιστον ὄφον καὶ καρόρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, as the utmost pitch and line of episcopal fidelity, "to lay down his life for the sheep";³ and this he did with all courage and fortitude; which is the last consideration we shall remark concerning him.

12. As a martyr he gave the higher testimony to his fidelity, and to the truth of that religion which he both preached and practised. He gloried in his sufferings as his honour and his privilege, and looked upon chains, τὰς πνευματικὰς he calls them,⁴ as his jewels and his ornaments: he was raised above either the love or fear of the present state, and could with as much ease and freedom (says Chrysostom) lay down his life, as another man could put off his clothes.⁵ The truth is, his soul was strangely inflamed with a desire of martyrdom; he wished every step of his journey to meet with the wild beasts that were prepared for him; and tells the Romans, he desired nothing

¹ Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 34, et Euseb. ubi supr.

² Ubi. supr. p. 500, &c.

³ Ibid. p. 429.

⁴ Ep. ad Eph. p. 6.

⁵ Loc. laudat.

more than they might presently do his work, that he would invite and court them speedily to devour him, and if he found them backward, as they had been towards others, he would provoke and force them.¹ And though the death he was to undergo was most savage and barbarous, and dressed up in the most horrid and frightful shapes, enough to startle the firmest resolution, yet could they make no impression 'επὶ τῷ τερρόν καὶ ἀδαμάντινον ψυχὴν, (as the Greeks say of him,²) upon his impregnable adamantine mind, any more than the dashes of a wave upon a rock of marble. "Let the fire," said he, "and the cross, and the assaults of wild beasts, the breaking of bones, cutting of limbs, battering the whole body in pieces; yea, and all the torments which the devil can invent come upon me, so I may but attain to be with Jesus Christ;"³ professing he thought it much better to die for Christ, than to live and reign the sole monarch of the world. Expressions certainly of a mighty zeal, and a divine passion wound up to its highest note. And yet, after all, this excellent person was humble to the lowest step of abasurē. He often professes that he looked upon himself as an abortive, and the very least of the faithful in the whole church of Antioch; and though it was his utmost ambition, yet he did not know whether he was worthy to suffer for religion.⁴ I might in the last place enter into a discourse concerning his epistles; (the true indices of the piety and divine temper of his mind;) those seven, I mean, enumerated and quoted by Eusebius,

¹ Ep. ad Rom. p. 23, et apud. Euseb. loc. cit.

² Men. Græc. ubi supr.

³ Epist. ad Rom. p. 24, et ap. Euseb. ubi supr.

⁴ Epist. ad Eph. p. 9, ad Rom. p. 25, Epist. ad Trall. p. 17.

and collected by St. Polycarp,¹ as himself expressly testifies; but shall forbear, despairing to offer anything considerable after so much as has been said by learned men about them; only observing, that in the exceptions to the argument from St. Polycarp's testimony, little more is said even by those who have managed it to the best advantage, than what might be urged against the most genuine writing in the world. I add St. Polycarp's character of these epistles, whereby he recommends them as highly useful and advantageous; that "they contain in them instructions and exhortations to faith and patience, and whatever is necessary to build us up in the religion of our Lord and Saviour."

His writings:—*Genuine*, “Ad Ephesios Epistola I.” “Ad Magnesianos, I.” “Ad Trallianos, I.” “Ad Romanos, I.” “Ad Philadelphenos, I.” “Ad Smyrnæos, I.” “Epistola ad Polycarpum.”—*Spurious*, “Ad Mariam Cassobolitam, I.” “Ad Tarsenses, I.” “Ad Antiochenos, I.” “Ad Philippenses, I.” “Ad Heronem, I.” “Ad B. Virg. Mariam, I.” “Ad Joannem Apostolum, II.”

¹ Epist. Pol. p. 23, edit. Usser. et ap. 1, Euseb. loc. cit. p. 108.

ST. POLYCARP.

ST. POLYCARP was born towards the latter end of Nero's reign, or it may be a little sooner; his great age at the time of his death, with some other circumstances, rendering it highly probable, if not certain. Uncertain it is where he was born; and I see no sufficient reason to the contrary why we may not fix his nativity at Smyrna, an eminent city of Ionia, in the lesser Asia, the first of the seven that entered their claim of being the birth-place of the famous Homer;¹ in memory whereof they had a library, and a four-square portico, called Homereum, with a temple and the statue of Homer adjoining to it, and used a sort of brass coin, which they called '*Ὀμηρεῖον*', after his name, and probably with his image stamped upon it. A place it was of great honour and renown, and has not only very magnificent titles heaped upon it by the writers of those times, but in several ancient inscriptions set up by the public order of the senate, not long after the time of Adrian, it is styled the chief city of Asia,

¹ Strab. Geograph. lib. xiv. p. 646.

both for beauty and greatness, the most splendid, the metropolis of Asia, and the ornament of Ionia. But it had a far greater and a more honourable privilege to glory in, if it was (as we suppose) the place of St. Polycarp's nativity, however of his education, the seat of his episcopal care and charge, and the scene of his tragedy and martyrdom. The Greeks, in their *Menæon*,¹ report that he was educated at the charge of a certain noble matron, (whose name, we are told, was Callisto,) a woman of great piety and charity; who, when she had exhausted all her granaries in relieving the poor, had them suddenly filled again by St. Polycarp's prayers. The circumstances whereof are more particularly related by Pionius,² (who suffered, if, which I must question, it was the same, under the Decian persecution,) to this effect. Callisto, warned by an angel in a dream, sent and redeemed Polycarp, (then but a child,) of some who sold him, brought him home, took care of his education, and finding him a youth of ripe and pregnant parts, as he grew up made him the major domo and steward of her house; whose charity, it seems, he dispensed with a very liberal hand, insomuch, that during her absence he had emptied all her barns and storehouses to the uses of the poor. For which being charged by his fellow-servants at her return, she not knowing then to what purpose he had employed them, called for the keys, and commanded him to resign his trust; which was no sooner done, but at her entrance in, she found all places full, and in as good condition as she had left them, which his prayers

¹ Τῆ κγ'. τοῦ μην. τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου.

² Pion. vit. S. Polycarp. ex MS. Græc. apud Bolland. Januar. xxvi

and intercession with Heaven had again replenished. As, indeed, Heaven can be sometimes content rather to work a miracle, than charity shall suffer and fare the worse for its kindness and bounty. In his younger years he is said to have been instructed in the Christian faith by Bucolus, whom the same Menæon elsewhere informs us St. John had consecrated bishop of Smyrna:¹ however, authors of more unquestionable credit and ancient date tell us, that he was St. John's disciple,² and not his only, but as Irenæus, who was his scholar, (followed herein by St. Jerome,) assures us, he was taught by the apostles, and familiarly conversed with many who had seen our Lord in the flesh.³

2. Bucolus, the vigilant and industrious bishop of Smyrna, being dead, (by whom St. Polycarp was, as we are told, made deacon and catechist of that church,⁴ an office which he discharged with great diligence and success,) Polycarp was ordained in his room, according to Bucolus's own prediction, who, as the Greeks report, had in his lifetime foretold that he should be his successor.⁵ He was constituted by St. John, say the ancients generally;⁶ though Irenæus,⁷ followed herein by the chronicle of Alexandria,⁸ affirms it to have been done by the apostles: whether any of the apostles

¹ Τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ τῷ εἰ.

² Act. Ignat. p. 5, Hieron. de Script. in Polycarp. Euseb. Χρον. Λογ. p. 81.

³ Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 233, et ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 14, p. 127.

⁴ Pion. c. 3, n. 12, ubi supr. ⁵ Men. 23, Febr. ubi supr.

⁶ Tertull de præscript. Hæretic, c. 32, p. 213; Hieron. ubi supra. vid Suid in voc. Πολυκαρπ. Niceph. H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 2, p. 252; Martyr. Rom. ad 26, Jan. p. 71.

⁷ Loc. supr. citat.

⁸ Olymp. 224, I Anton. 21, p. 602.

besides St. John were then alive, or whether he means apostolic persons, (commonly styled apostles in the writings of the church,) who joined with St. John in the consecration. Eusebius says,¹ that Polycarp was familiarly conversant with the apostles, and received the government of the church of Smyrna from those who had been eye-witnesses and ministers of our Lord. It makes not a little for the honour of St. Polycarp, and argues his mighty diligence and solicitude for the good of souls, that, (as we shall note more anon,) Ignatius passing to his martyrdom, wrote to him, and particularly recommended to him the inspection and oversight of his church at Antioch ; knowing him, (says Eusebius,)² to be truly an apostolical man, and being assured that he would use his utmost care and fidelity in that matter. The author of the Alexandrian Chronicle tells us, that it was the bishop of Smyrna (who could not well be any other than St. Polycarp) to whom St. John committed the tutorage and education of the young man, whom he took up in his visitation, who ran away, and became captain of a company of loose and debauched highwaymen, and was afterwards reduced and reclaimed by that apostle.³ But seeing Clemens Alexandrinus, who relates the story, sets down neither the name of the bishop, nor the city, though he confesses there were some that made mention of it ;⁴ nor is this circumstance taken notice of by any other ancient writer, nor that bishop's neglecting of his charge well consistent with St. Polycarp's care and industry, I

¹ H. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 36, p. 106.

² Ib. p. 107.

³ Ad. Ann 1, Olympiad. 220, in dict. 13. ann. Traj. 4, p 594.

⁴ Ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 23, p. 92.

shall leave the story as I find it. Though it cannot be denied but that Smyrna was near to Ephesus, as St. Clemens says that city also was, and that St. John seems to have had a more than ordinary regard to that church; it being, next Ephesus, the first of those seven famous Asian churches to whom he directed his epistles, and St. Polycarp at this time bishop of it: for that he was "that angel of the church at Smyrna," to whom that apocalyptical epistle was sent, is not only highly probable, but by a learned man put past all question.¹ I must confess that the character and circumstances ascribed by St. John to the angel of that church seem very exactly to agree with Polycarp, and with no other bishop of that church (about those times especially) that we read of in the history of the church. And whoever compares the account of St. Polycarp's martyrdom, with the notices and intimations which the Apocalypse there gives of that person's sufferings and death, will find the prophecy and the event suit together. That which may seem to make most against it, is the long time of his presidency over that see: seeing by this account he must sit at least seventy-four years bishop of that church, from the latter end of Domitian's reign (when the Apocalypse was written) to the persecution under M. Aurelius, when he suffered. To which no other solution needs to be given, than that his great, nay extreme age at the time of his death, renders it not at all improbable; especially when we find, several ages after, that Remigius, bishop of Rhemes, sat seventy-four years bishop of that place.

¹ Usser. Prolegom. ad Ignat. Epist. c. 3, p. 9.

3. It was not many years after St. John's death, when the persecution under Trajan began to be reinforced, wherein the eastern parts had a very large share, ann. Chr. 107. Ignatius was condemned by the emperor, at Antioch, and sentenced to be transported to Rome, in order to his execution. In his voyage thither he put in at Smyrna, to salute and converse with Polycarp; these holy men mutually comforting and encouraging each other, and conferring together about the affairs of the church. From Smyrna, Ignatius and his company sailed to Troas, whence he sent back an epistle to the church of Smyrna, wherein he endeavours to fortify them against the errors of the times, which had crept in amongst them; especially against those who undermined our Lord's humanity, and denied his coming in the flesh, affirming him to have suffered only in an imaginary and phantastic body. An opinion (which as it deserved) he severely censures, and strongly refutes. He further presses them to a due observance and regard of their bishop, and those spiritual guides and ministers which, under him, were set over them; and that they would dispatch a messenger on purpose to the church of Antioch, to congratulate that peace and tranquillity which then began to be restored to them. Besides this, he wrote particularly to St. Polycarp, whom he knew to be a man of an apostolic temper, a person of singular faithfulness and integrity; recommending to him the care and superintendency of his disconsolate church of Antioch. In the epistle itself, as extant at this day, there are many short and useful rules and precepts of life, especially such as concern the pastoral and episcopal office. And here again he renews his request concerning An-

tioch, that a messenger might be sent from Smyrna to that church, and that St. Polycarp would write to other churches to do the like : a thing which he would have done himself, had not his hasty departure from Troas prevented him. And more than this, we find not concerning Polycarp for many years after, till some unhappy differences in the church brought him upon the public stage.

4. It happened that the *quartodeciman* controversy, about the observation of Easter, began to grow very high between the eastern and western churches; each standing very stiffly upon their own way, and justifying themselves by apostolical practice and tradition. That this fire might not break out into a greater flame, St. Polycarp undertakes a journey to Rome,¹ to interpose with those who were the main supports and champions of the opposite party, and gave life and spirit to the controversy. Though the exact time of his coming hither cannot precisely be defined, yet will it in a great measure depend upon Anicetus's succession to that see, in whose time he came thither. Now, evident it is, that almost all the ancient catalogues place him before Soter, and next to Pius, whom he succeeded. This succession Eusebius places ann. Chr. 154;² a computation certainly much truer than that of Baronius, who places it in the year 167; and consonantly to this the Chronicle of Alexandria places St. Polycarp's coming to Rome, ann. Chr. 158, Anton. Imp. 21.³ It is true indeed, that in two ancient catalogues of the bishops of Rome, set

¹ Iren. apud Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 14, p. 127.

² Chron. ad An. 154.

³ Loc. infra cit.

down by Optatus¹ and St. Augustine,² Anicetus is set before Pius, and made immediately to succeed Hyginus; by which account he must be removed fifteen years higher, for so long Eusebius positively says Pius sat. And methinks it seems to look a little this way, that Eusebius having given an account of the emperor Antoninus Pius's rescript in behalf of the Christians, (granted by him in his third consulship, ann. Chr. 140, or thereabouts,) immediately adds, that about the time of the things spoken of, Anicetus governed the church of Rome, and Polycarp came thither upon this errand;³ the late peace and indulgence granted to the Christians probably administering both opportunity and encouragement to his journey. But seeing this scheme of times contradicts Eusebius's plain and positive account in other places, and that most ancient catalogues, especially that of Irenæus⁴ and Hegesippus⁵ (who both lived and were at Rome in the time of Anicetus himself) constantly place Anicetus next to Pius, I dare not disturb this ancient and almost uncontrolled account of things, till I can meet with better evidence for this matter. But whenever it was, over he came to Anicetus, to confer with him about this affair; which makes me the more wonder at the learned Monsieur Valois,⁶ who with so peremptory a confidence denies that Polycarp came to Rome upon this errand; and that it was not the difference about the paschal

¹ De Schism. Donatist. lib. ii. p. 38.

² Ep. 165, ad Generos. col. 751.

³ H. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 14, p. 127.

⁴ Lib. iii. c. 3, et ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 13, p. 126.

⁵ Ap. Euseb. ib. c. 22, p. 142.

⁶ Annot. in Euseb. p. 190.

solemnity, but some other controversies that brought him thither, when as Irenæus's express words are, (if Eusebius rightly represent them,) that he came to Rome to confer and discourse with Anicetus, διὰ τι ζήτημα περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας, “ by reason of a certain controversy concerning the day whereon Easter was to be celebrated.”¹ It is true, he says that they differed a little περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν,² about some other things; but this hindered not, but that the other was the main errand and inducement of his voyage thither: though even about that, (as he adds,) there was no great contention between them; for those holy and blessed souls, knowing the main and vital parts of religion not to be concerned in rituals and external observances, mutually saluted and embraced each other. They could not indeed so satisfy one another, as that either would quit the customs which they had observed, but were content still to retain their own sentiments, without violating that charity which was the great and common law of their religion. In token whereof they communicated together at the holy sacrament; and Anicetus, to put the greater honour upon St. Polycarp, gave him leave to consecrate the eucharist in his own church: after which they parted peaceably; each side, though retaining their ancient rites, yet maintaining the peace and communion of the church. The ancient Synodicon³ tells us, that a provincial synod was

¹ Ap. Euseb. loc. cit. vid. etiam. Chron. Alex. ad An. 2, Olym. 224, Ind. x. p. 602, ubi habet, διὰ ζήτημα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρας.

² Ib. lib. v. c. 24, p. 193.

³ Syn. à Papp. edit. gr. l. p. 3, et Concil. tom. i. col. 583. edit. noviss.

held at Rome about this matter, by Anicetus, Polycarp, and ten other bishops, where it was decreed that Easter should not be kept at the time, nor after the rites and manner of the Jews, but be celebrated ἀντὴ τῇ περιδόξῳ καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ, on the eminent and great Lord's-day that followed after it. But improbable it is that St. Polycarp should give his vote to any such determination, when we know that he could not agree with Anicetus in this controversy, and that he left Rome with the same judgment and practice herein wherewith he came thither.

5. During his stay at Rome he mainly set himself to convince gainsayers, testifying the truth of those doctrines which he had received from the apostles; whereby he reclaimed many to the communion of the church, who had been infected and overrun with errors, especially the pernicious heresies of Marcion and Valentinus.¹ And when Marcion meeting him one day accidentally in the street, and ill resenting it that he did not salute him, called out to him, "Polycarp, own us;" the good man replied in a just indignation, "I own thee to be the first-born of Satan."² So religiously cautious (says Irenæus) were the apostles and their followers, not so much as by discourse to communicate with any that did adulterate and corrupt the truth; observing St. Paul's rule, 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition,

¹ Ire. adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 233, et ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 14.

² Εἴσχημόνως ὁδεύων, μακάριε, τέκιον φωτός τῇ καὶ εἰρήνης δεικνύμενος, τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς πρωτότοκον καὶ πολέμιον ἔγνως Μαρκιωνα. Νεθετέμενοι, πάτερ, τοῖς λόγοις σε, πᾶσαν ἱκτρεπόμεθα βέβηλον αἴρεσιν, καὶ πονηρὰ συνέδρια τῶν διττὰς πτεσζευόντων ἀρδάς διστελῶν.—Men. Græcor. uhi supr.

reject ; knowing that he that is such is perverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.¹ Indeed St. Polycarp's pious and devout mind was fermented with a mighty zeal and abhorrency of the poisonous and pestilent principles, which in those times corrupted the simplicity of the Christian faith ; insomuch, that when at any time he heard any thing of that nature, he was wont presently to stop his ears, and cry out, " Good God, into what times hast thou reserved me, that I should hear such things ! "² immediately avoiding the place where he had heard any such discourse. And the same dislike he manifested, in all the epistles which he wrote either to neighbour-churches, or particular persons, warning them of errors, and exhorting them to continue steadfast in the truth. This zeal against heretics, and especially his carriage towards Marcion, we may suppose he learnt in a great measure from St. John, of whom he was wont to tell, that going into a bath at Ephesus, and espying Cerinthus the heresiarch there, he presently started back : " Let us begone," said he to his companions, " lest the bath wherein there is Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads."³ This passage (says Irenæus) some yet alive heard from St. Polycarp's own mouth, and himself no doubt among the rest ; for so he tells us elsewhere,⁴ that in his youth, when he was with St. Polycarp in the lesser Asia, he took such particular notice of things, that he perfectly remembered the very place where he used to sit while he discoursed, his goings out and com-

¹ Tit. iii. 9, 10.

² Iren. Epist. ad Florin. ap. Euseb. lib. v. c. 20, p. 188.

³ Iren. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 233, et ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 14.

⁴ Epist. ad Florin. ubi supr.

ing in, the shape of his body, and the manner of his life, his discourses to the people, and the account he was wont to give of his familiar converse with St. John, and others who had seen our Lord, whose sayings he rehearsed, and whatever they had told him concerning our Saviour, concerning his miracles and his doctrine, which themselves had either seen or heard, agreeing exactly with the relations of the sacred history. All which Irenæus tells us he particularly took notice of, and faithfully treasured them up in his mind, and made them part of his constant meditation. These are all the material remarks which I find among the ancients concerning Polycarp, during the time of his government of the church at Smyrna. Indeed there are several miracles and particular passages of his life, related by the above-mentioned Pionius, which tend infinitely to exalt the honour of this holy man. But seeing the author is obscure, and that we can have no reasonable satisfaction who he was, and whence he borrowed his notices and accounts of things, I choose rather to suspend my belief, than to entertain the reader with those (at best uncertain) relations which he has given us.

6. In the reign of M. Antoninus and L. Verus, began a severe persecution (whether fourth or fifth, let others inquire) against the Christians. Melito, bishop of Sardis, who lived at that time, and dedicated his apology to the emperors, making mention of *καινὰ κατὰ τῶν Ἀσίων δόγματα καὶ διάταγματα*,¹ new edicts and decrees which the emperors had issued out through Asia, by virtue whereof impudent and greedy informers spoiled and vexed the

¹ *Apud Euseb. lib. iv. c. 26, p. 147.*

innocent Christians. But the storm increased into a more violent tempest about the seventh year of their reign, ann. Chr. 167, when the emperor Marcus Antoninus, designing an expedition against the Marcomani,¹ the terror of whom had sufficiently awakened them at Rome, summoned the priests together, and began more solemnly to celebrate their religious rites; and no doubt but he was told that there was no better way to propitiate and atone the gods, than to bear hard upon the Christians, generally looked upon as the most open and hateful enemies to their gods. And now it was that St. Polycarp, after a long and diligent discharge of his duty in his episcopal station, received his crown. So vastly wide of the mark are the later Greeks, making him, in their public offices to suffer martyrdom under the Decian persecution.² Nor much nearer is that of Socrates, (however he fell into the error,) who tells us that he was martyred under Gordianus;³ mistakes so extravagant, that there needs no more to confute them than to mention them. Concerning his sufferings and martyrdom, we have a full and particular relation in a letter of the church of Smyrna, written not long after his death to the church of Philomelum, (or more truly, Philadelphia,) and in the nature of an encyclical epistle, to all the diocesses (*παροικίαις*) of the holy catholic church; the far greatest part whereof Eusebius has inserted into his history, leaving out only the beginning and the end, though the entire epistle, together with its ancient version, or rather paraphrase, is since published by bishop

¹ Jul. C. in vit. M. Anton. c. 13, p. 181.

² Men. Græc. Tῇ κγ'. τοῦ Φελοναρ.

³ H. Eccl. lib. v. c. 22, p. 284.

Usher. It was penned by Eauristus; and afterwards (as appears by their several subscriptions at the end of it) transcribed out of Irenæus's copy by Caius, contemporary and familiar with Irenæus; out of his by one Socrates, at Corinth; and from his by Pionius, who had with great diligence found it out. A piece it is that challenges a singular esteem and reverence both for the subject matter, and the antiquity of it, with which Scaliger thinks every serious and devout mind must needs be so affected, as never to think it has enough of it;¹ professing, for his own part, that he never met with any thing in all the history of the church, with the reading whereof he was more transported, so that he seemed no longer to be himself. Which effect that it may have upon the pious, well-disposed reader, we shall present him with this following account.

7. The persecution growing hot at Smyrna,² and many having already sealed their confession with their blood, the general outcry was, "Away with the impious," (or the atheists, such they generally called and accounted the Christians,) "let Polycarp be sought for." The good man was not disturbed at the news, but resolved to endure the brunt; till his friends, knowing his singular usefulness, and that our Lord had given leave to his disciples, when persecuted in one city to flee to another, prevailed with him to withdraw into a neighbouring village; where, with a few companions, he continued day and night in prayer, earnestly interceding with Heaven (as aforetime it had ever been his custom)

¹ Animadv. ad Euseb. 2183, p. 222.

² Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. de Mart. Polycarp. edit. Usser. p. 16, et apud Euseb. lib. iv. c. 15, p. 129.

for the peace and tranquillity of all the churches in the world. Three days before his apprehension, falling at night, as he was at prayer, into a trance, he dreamed that his pillow was on fire, and burned to ashes; which when he awakened, he told his friends was a prophetic presage that he should be burned alive for the cause of Christ. In the mean time he was every where narrowly sought for; upon notice whereof his friends persuaded him to retire into another village; whither he was no sooner come, but his enemies were at hand, who seizing upon a couple of youths, (one of whom by stripes they forced to a confession,) were by them conducted to his lodging. Entering the house at evening, they perceived him to be in bed in an upper room; and though, upon notice before-hand of their coming, he might easily have saved himself by slipping into another house, yet he refused, saying, "The will of the Lord be done." Understanding his persecutors were there, he came down and saluted them with a very cheerful and gentle countenance; insomuch, that they who had not hitherto known him, wondered to behold so venerable a person, of so great age, and so grave and composed a presence; and what needed all this stir to hunt and take this poor old man? He nothing concerned, ordered a table to be spread, and provisions to be set upon it, inviting them to partake of them, and only requesting for himself, that in the mean while he might have one hour for prayer. Leave being granted, he rose up, and betook himself to his devotions, wherein he had such mighty assistances of divine grace, that he continued praying nearly two hours together, heartily recommending to God the case of all his

friends and acquaintance, whether great or little, honourable or ignoble, and the state of the catholic church throughout the world ; all that heard him being astonished at it, and of them now repenting that so divine and venerable an old man should be put to death.

8. His prayer being ended, and they ready to depart, he was set upon an ass; and (it being then the great sabbath; though what that great sabbath was, learned men, I believe, will hardly agree till the coming of Elias) conducted him into the city. As they were upon the road, they were met by Herod and his father Nicetes, who indeed were the main springs of the persecution, and had put the tumult into motion. This Herod was an irenarcha, one of those, *ad quos tuendæ publicæ pacis vigilantia pertinebat*, as St. Augustin¹ describes them : their office was much the same with that of our modern justices of the peace, they being set to guard the provinces, and to secure the public peace and quietness within their several jurisdictions ; to prevent and suppress riots and tumults, robberies and rapines, and to inquire into the companions and receivers of all such persons, and to transmit to the magistrates the examinations and notices which they had received of such matters. They were appointed either by the emperor himself, or the præfecti prætorio, or the decurios ; and at this time the custom in the provinces of the lesser Asia was, that every city did yearly send ten of the names of their principal persons to the governor of the province, who choose out one to be the

¹ Epist. 159, col. 720 ; 160, c. 722, vid. lib. xviii. sect. 4, ff. de muner. et honor. tit. 4, et lib. vi, sect. 2, ff. de custod. et exhib. reor. tit. 3.

irenarcha, the keeper or justice of the peace. Being afterwards found grievous and troublesome to the people, they were taken away by a law of the younger Theodosius,¹ though the office remained under another name. This office at Smyrna was at this time managed by this Herod, whom Baronius² conjectures to be Herodes Atticus,³ a man of consular dignity, and of great learning and eloquence, and who had been tutor to the present emperor. Certain it is, that that Herod governed in the free cities of Asia,⁴ and resided sometimes at Smyrna: though it cramps the conjecture, that the name of that Herod's father was Atticus, of this Nicetes; unless we will suppose him to have had two names. But whoever he be, a great enemy he was to Polycarp, whom meeting upon the way, he took him up into his chariot, where both he and his father, by plausible insinuations, sought to undermine his constancy; asking him what great harm there was in saying, My lord the emperor, and in sacrificing, by which means he might escape. This was an usual way of attempting the Christians; not that they made any scruple to acknowledge the emperor to be their lord, (none were so forward, so earnest to pay all due subjection and reverence to princes,) but because they knew that the Romans, too apt to flatter the ambition of their emperors into a fondly usurped divinity, by that title usually understood God, as Tertullian tells them;⁵

¹ C. Th. lib. uric. tit. 14, de Irenarch.

² Ad Ann. 169, n. 7.

³ A. Gell. noct. Att. lib. i. c. 2, p. 2; J. Cupit. in vit. M. Anton. c. 3, p. 151.

⁴ Philastr. de vit. Sophist. lib. ii. in Herod. p. m. 646, et lib. i. in Polemon. p. 642.

⁵ Apolog. c. 34, p. 28.

in any other notion of the word, they could as freely as any call him Lord ; though, as he adds, even Augustus himself modestly forbade that title to be ascribed to him.¹

9. St. Polycarp returned no answer to their demand, till importunately urging him, he replied, that he would not at any rate comply with their persuasions. Frustrated of the ends which they had upon him, they now lay aside the visor of their dissembled friendship, and turn their kindness into scorn and reproaches ; thrusting him out of the chariot with so much violence, that he bruised his thigh with the fall. Whereat nothing daunted, as if he had received no hurt, he cheerfully hastened on to the place of his execution, under the conduct of his guard ; whither when they were come, and a confused noise and tumult was arisen, a voice came from heaven, (heard by many, but none seen who spake it,) saying, "Polycarp, be strong, and quit thyself like a man." Immediately he was brought before the public tribunal, where a great shout was made ; all rejoicing that he was apprehended. The proconsul (whose name was L. Statius Quadratus,) this very year, as Aristides, the orator, who lived at this time at Smyrna, informs us,² the proconsul of Asia, (as not long before he had been consul at Rome,) asked him, whether he was Polycarp ; which being confessed, he began to persuade him to recant. "Regard," said he, "thy great age ; swear by the genius of Cæsar ; repent, and say with us, Take away the impious." These were ἀ συνηθεῖς ἀντοις, as my authors truly observe,

their usual terms and proposals to Christians, who stoutly refused to swear by the emperor's genius; upon which account the heathens generally traduced them as traitors and enemies to the state; though, to wipe off that charge, they openly professed, that though they could not swear by the fortune of the emperor, (their genii being accounted deities, whom the Christians knew to be but demons, and cast out at every turn,) yet they scrupled not to swear by the emperor's safety, a thing more august and sacred than all the genii in the world.¹

10. The holy martyr looking about the Stadium, and with a severe and angry countenance beholding the crowd, beckoned to them with his hand, sighed and looked up to heaven, saying, (though quite in another sense than they intended,) "Take away the impious. The proconsul still persuaded him to swear, with promise to release him; withal urging him to blaspheme Christ; for with that temptation they were wont to assault Christians, and thereby to try the sincerity of their renegados; a course which Pliny tells us² he observed towards apostate Christians; though he withal confesses, that none of them that were really Christians could ever be brought to it. The motion was resented with a noble scorn, and drew from Polycarp this generous confession: "Fourscore and six years I have served him, and he never did me any harm; how then shall I now blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" But nothing will satisfy a malicious misguided zeal: the proconsul still importuned him to swear by Cæsar's genius; to whom he re-

¹ Tert. Apol. c. 32, p. 28; Orig. cont Cels. lib. viii. p. 421.

² Epist. ad Trajan. Imp. Ep. 97, lib. 10.

plied, "Since you are so vainly ambitious that I should swear by the emperor's genius, as you call it, as if you knew not who I am; hear my free confession: I am a Christian. If you have a mind to learn the Christian religion, appoint me a time, and I will instruct you in it." The proconsul advised him to persuade the people: he answered, "To you I rather choose to address my discourse; for we are commanded by the laws of our religion, to give to princes and the powers ordained of God, all that due honour and reverence that is not prejudicial and contrary to the precepts of religion. As for them, (meaning the common herd,) I think them not competent judges, to whom I should apologize, or give an account of my faith."

11. The proconsul now saw it was in vain to use any further persuasives and entreaties; and therefore betook himself to severer arguments. "I have wild beasts at hand," said he, "to which I will cast thee, unless thou recant." "Call for them," cried the martyr, "for we are immutably resolved not to change the better for the worse; accounting it fit and comely only to turn from vice to virtue." "Since thou makest so light of wild beasts," added the proconsul, "I have a fire that shall tame thee, unless thou repent." "Thou threatenest me with a fire," answered Polycarp, "that burns for an hour, and is presently extinct, but art ignorant, alas! of the fire of eternal damnation, and the judgment to come, reserved for the wicked in the other world.. But why delayest thou? bring forth whatever thou hast a mind to." This and much more he spake with a pleasant and cheerful confidence; and a divine grace was conspicuous in his very looks, so far was he from

cowardly sinking under the great threatenings made against him. Yea, the proconsul himself was astonished at it; though finding no good could be done upon him, he commanded the crier, in the middle of the stadium, thrice to make open proclamation, (as was the manner of the Romans in all capital trials,) "Polycarp has confessed himself a Christian." Whereat the whole multitude, both of Jews and Gentiles, that were present, (and probably it is, that the *τὸ Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας*; the common council or assembly of Asia, might about this time be held at Smyrna, for the celebration of their common shows and sports; for that it was sometimes held here, is evident from an ancient inscription¹ making mention of it,) gave a mighty shout, crying out aloud, "This is the great doctor of Asia, and the father of the Christians; this is the destroyer of our gods, who teaches men not to do sacrifice, or worship the deities."

12. The cry being a little over, they immediately addressed themselves to Philip, the asiarch. These asiarchs were Gentile priests belonging to the commonalty of Asia, yearly chosen at the common council or assembly of Asia, to the number of about ten, (whereof one was principal,) out of the names returned by the several cities.² It was an office of great honour and credit, but withal of great expense and charge; they being obliged to entertain the people with sights and sports upon the festival solemnities; and therefore it was not conferred but

¹ — ΣΜΥΡΝΑΝ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ.—Marm. Oxon. iii. p. 79.

² Vid. lib. vi. sect. 14, ff. de excusat. tit. 1, et lib. viii. sect. 1, de Vacat. tit. 5, ibid. vid. etiam Aristid. Orat. Sacr. iv.

upon the more wealthy and substantial citizens. In this place was Philip at this time, whom the people clamorously requested to let a lion upon the malefactor. Which he told them he could not do, having already exhibited the *τὰ Κυνηγέσια*, the hunting of wild beasts with men, one of the famous shows of the Amphitheatre. Then they unanimously demanded, that he might be burnt alive; a fate which he himself, from the vision in his dream, had prophetically foretold should be his portion. The thing was no sooner said than done, each one striving to bear a part in this fatal tragedy, with incredible speed fetching wood and faggots from several places; but especially the Jews were peculiarly active in the service; malice to Christians being almost as natural to them as it is for the fire to burn. The fire being prepared, St. Polycarp untied his girdle, laid aside his garments, and began to put off his shoes; ministries which he before was not wont to be put to; the Christians ambitiously striving to be admitted to do them for him, and happy he that could first touch his body. So great a reverence even in his younger years had he from all for the admirable strictness and regularity of his holy life.

13. The officers that were employed in his execution having disposed all other things, came according to custom to nail him to the stake; which he desired them to omit, assuring them, that he who gave him strength to endure the fire, would enable him, without nailing, to stand immovable in the hottest flames. So they only tied him, who standing like a sheep ready for the slaughter, designed as a grateful sacrifice to the Almighty, clasping his hands, which were bound behind him,

he poured out his soul to heaven in this following prayer: "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and ever-blessed Son, Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee; the God of angels, powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous, who live before thee; I bless thee that thou hast graciously condescended to bring me to this day and hour, that I may receive a portion in the number of thy holy martyrs, and drink of Christ's cup, for the resurrection to eternal life, both of soul and body, in the incorruptibleness of the Holy Spirit. Into which number grant I may be received this day; being found in thy sight as a fair and acceptable sacrifice, such a one as thou thyself hast prepared; that so thou mayest accomplish what thou, O true and faithful God, hast foreshown. Wherefore, I praise thee for all thy mercies. I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the eternal High-Priest, thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ; with whom to thyself and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and for ever, Amen." Which last words he pronounced with a more clear, audible voice; and having done his prayer, the ministers of execution blew up the fire, which increasing to a mighty flame, behold a wonder, (seen, say my authors, by us, who were purposely reserved, that we might declare it to others,) the flames disposing themselves into the resemblance of an arch, like the sails of a ship swelled with the wind, gently encircled the body of the martyr, who stood all the while in the midst, not like roasted flesh, but like gold or silver purified in the furnace; his body sending forth a delightful fragrancy, which like frankincense, or

some other costly spices, presented itself to our senses.¹

14. How blind and incorrigibly obstinate is unbelief! The infidels were so far from being convinced, that they were rather exasperated by the miracle; commanding a spearman, one of those who were wont to dispatch wild beasts when they became outrageous, to go near and run him through with a sword; which he had no sooner done, but such a vast quantity of blood flowed from the wound, as extinguished and put out the fire; together with which a dove was seen to fly from the wounds of his body, which some suppose to have been his soul, clothed in a visible shape at the time of its departure; though true it is, that this circumstance is not mentioned in Eusebius's account, and probably never was in the original, Nor did the malice of Satan end here; he knew by the innocent and unblameable course of his life, and the glorious constancy of his martyrdom, that he had certainly attained the crown of immortality, and nothing now was left for his spite to work on, but to deprive them even of the honour of his bones. For many were desirous to have given his body decent and honourable burial, and to have

¹ “ Phœnicem si quis medio miretur in igne
Emori, et extracto se reparare rogo.
Obstupeat, POLYCARPE, avidas tibi parcere flamas,
Non ausas sacrâ te violare face.
Mille nitent tædæ, rutilantq. hinc inde favillis,
Atque in te Dominum, quem colis ipse, colunt.
Fræmia nunc majora tibi sed reddit Olympus,
Igne qui pedibus subjicit astra sue.”

Inscript. Romæ in Ecclesia S. Stephani in Cœlio, supra scripta
hæc Siracideæ sententia: “ Ecclesiastic. li. 6, IN MEDIO IGNIS
SUM ÆSTUATUS ”—Vid. Usser. not. 74, in Act. Polycarp.
p. 67.

assembled there for the celebration of his memory ; but were prevented by some who prompted Nicetes, the father of Herod, and brother to Alce, to advise the proconsul not to bestow his body upon the Christians ; lest leaving their crucified master, they should henceforth worship Polycarpus. A suggestion however managed by the heathens, yet first contrived and prompted by the Jews, who narrowly watched the Christians when they would have taken away his body from the place of execution ; " little considering (they are the words of my authors) how impossible it is that either we should forsake Christ, who died for the salvation of the whole world, or that we should worship any other. Him we adore as the Son of God ; but martyrs, as the disciples and followers of our Lord, we deservedly love for their eminent kindness towards their own prince and master, whose companions and fellow-disciples we also by all means desire to be." So far were those primitive and better ages from that undue and superstitious veneration of the relics of martyrs and departed saints, which after ages introduced into the church, as elsewhere we have shown more at large.

15. The centurion beholding the perverseness and obstinacy of the Jews, commanded the body to be placed in the midst, and in the usual manner to be burned to ashes ; whose bones the Christians gathered up as a choice and inestimable treasure, and decently interred them. In which place they resolved, if possible, (and they prayed God nothing might hinder it,) to meet and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom ; both to do honour to the

memory of the departed, and to prepare and encourage others hereafter to give the like testimony to the faith. Both which considerations gave birth and original to the *Memoriæ Martyrum*, those solemn anniversary commemorations of the martyrs, which we have in another place more fully shown, were generally kept in the primitive church.¹ Thus died this apostolical man, ann. Chr. 167, about the hundredth year of his age; for those eighty-six years, which himself speaks of, wherein he had served Christ, cannot be said to commence from his birth, but from his baptism or new-birth, at which time we cannot well suppose him to have been less than sixteen or twenty years old: besides his converse with the apostles and consecration by St. John, reasonably suppose him of some competent years; for we cannot think he would ordain a youth, or a very young man, bishop, especially of so great and populous a city. The incomparable primate, from a passage in his epistle,² conjectures him to have lived (though not then converted to Christianity) at the time when St. Paul wrote his epistles; which if so, must argue him to have been of a greater age. Nor is this any more improbable than what Quadratus, the Christian apologist, who lived under Hadrian, and dedicated his Apologetic to that emperor,³ reports; that there were some of those whom our Lord had healed, and raised from the dead, alive even in his time. And of Simeon, successor to St. James in the bishopric of Jerusalem, Hegesippus expressly relates that he was a hundred and twenty years old at the time of his

¹ Ibid. chap. 7.

² An. in Ep. S. Polycarp. p. 2.

³ Ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 3, p. 116.

martyrdom.¹ Sure I am Irenæus particularly notes, of our St. Polycarp, that he lived a very long time, and was arrived to an exceeding great age, when he underwent a most glorious and illustrious martyrdom for the faith.²

16. He suffered on the second of the month Xanthicus, the seventh of the kalends of May; though whether mistaken for the seventh of the kalends of April, and so to be referred to March 26, as some will have it, or for the seventh of the kalends of March, and so to be adjudged to February 23, as others, is difficult to determine. It shall suffice to note, that his memory is celebrated by the Greek church, February 23; by the Latin, January 26. The Amphitheatre where he suffered is in a great measure yet remaining; (as a late eyewitness and diligent searcher into antiquity informs us;³) in the two opposite sides whereof are the dens where the lions were wont to be kept. His tomb is in a little chapel, in the side of a mountain, on the south-east part of the city, solemnly visited by the Greeks upon his festival-day; and for the maintenance and reparation whereof, travellers were wont to throw in a few aspers into an earthen-pot that stands there for that purpose. How miserable the state of this city is under the Turkish yoke at this day, is without the limits of my business to inquire. To look a little higher to the times we write of, though I love not to make severe and ill-natured interpretations of the actions of divine Providence, yet I cannot but observe, how heavy the divine displeasure, not long after Polycarp's

¹ Ap. Euseb. lib. iii. c. 32, p. 104.

² Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3, et ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 14, p. 127.

³ Th. Smith, Epist. de 8, Asiae Eccl. p. 164.

death fell, as upon other places, so more particularly upon this city, by plague, fire, and earthquakes, mentioned by others,¹ but more fully described by Aristides² their own orator, who was contemporary with St. Polycarp. By which means their city, before one of the glories and ornaments of Asia, was turned into rubbish and ashes, their stately houses overturned, their temples ruined; one especially, which as it advanced Asia above other countries, so gave Smyrna the honour and precedence above other cities of Asia; their traffic spoiled, their marts and ports laid waste, besides the great numbers of people that lost their lives. Indeed the fate so sad, that the orator was forced to give over professing himself unable to describe it.

17. I cannot better close the story of Polycarp's martyrdom, than with the preface which the church of Smyrna has in the beginning of it, as what eminently represents the illustrious faith and patience of those primitive Christians. "Evident it is, (say they,) that all those martyrdoms are great and blessed, which happen by the will of God; for it becomes us Christians, who have a more divine religion than others, to ascribe to God the sovereign disposure of all events. Who would not stand and admire the generous greatness of their mind, their singular patience, and admirable love to God? who, when their flesh was with scourges so torn off their backs, that the whole frame and contexture of their bodies, even to their innermost veins and arteries, might be seen, yet patiently endured it:

¹ Xiphil. Epit. Dion. in M. Anton. p. 281.

² In Orat. Monodix dict. vid. Philastr. de vit. Sophist. lib. II. Aristid. p. m. 659.

³ Edit. Usser. p. 14. confer Euseb. lib. iv. c. 15, p. 129.

insomuch that those who were present, pitied and grieved at the sight of it, while they themselves were endued with so invincible a resolution, that none of them gave one sigh or groan ; the holy martyrs of Christ letting us see, that at that time, when they were thus tormented, they were strangers to their own bodies; or rather that our Lord stood by them to assist and comfort them. Animated by the grace of Christ, they despised the torments of men, by one short hour delivering themselves from eternal miseries. The fire which their tormentors put to them seemed cool and little, while they had it in their eye to avoid the everlasting and unextinguishable flames of another world ; their thoughts being fixed upon those rewards which are prepared for them that endure to the end, such as ‘ neither ear hath heard, nor eye hath seen, nor hath it entered into the heart of man ;’ but which were shown to them by our Lord, as being now no longer mortals, but entering upon the state of angels. In like manner those who were condemned to be devoured by wild beasts, for a long time endured the most grievous tortures : shells of fishes were strewed under their naked bodies, and they forced to lie upon sharp-pointed stakes driven into the ground, and several such-like engines of torture devised for them, that, (if possible,) by the constancy of their torments, the enemy might drive them to renounce the faith of Christ. Various were the methods of punishment which the devil did invent ; though, blessed be God, there were not many whom they were able to prevail upon.” And, at the end of the epistle, they particularly remark concerning Polycarp,¹ that he was not only a famous doctor, but an

¹ Ubi supra. p. 28.

eminent martyr; whose martyrdom all strove to imitate, as one who by his patience conquered an unrighteous judge; and by that means having attained an immortal crown, was triumphing with the apostles, and all the souls of the righteous, glorifying God the Father, and praising of our Lord, the disposer of our bodies, and the bishop and pastor of the catholic church throughout the world. Nor were the Christians the only persons that reverenced his memory, but the very Gentiles (as Eusebius tells¹) everywhere spoke honourably of him.

18. As for his writings, besides that St. Jerome mentions the volumes of Papias and Polycarp,² and the above-mentioned Pionius's epistles and homilies,³ Irenæus evidently intimates that he wrote several epistles;⁴ of all which none are extant at this day, but the Epistle to the Philippians, an epistle peculiarly celebrated by the ancients, very useful, says St. Jerome,⁵ παντας διαματη. (as Suidas⁶ and Sophronius style it,) a most admirable epistle. Irenæus gives it this eulogium, that it is a most perfect and absolute epistle,⁷ whence they that are careful of their salvation may learn the character of his faith, and the truth which he preached. To which Eusebius adds, that in this epistle he makes use of some quotations out of the first Epistle of St. Peter.

¹ Loc. supr. cit. p. 135.

² Epist. ad Louin. p. 194, tom. i.

³ Vit. Polycarp. c. 3, n. 12, p. 697, ubi supr.

⁴ Epist. ad Florin. ap. Euseb. ubi supr.

⁵ De Script. in Polycarp.

⁶ Suid. in voc. Πολυκαρπ.

⁷ Sophron. ap. Hieron. ib.

⁸ Adv. Heræs. lib. iii. c. 3, et. ap. Euseb. lib. iv. c. 15 p. 128.

An observation that holds good with the epistle, as we have it at this day, there being many places in it cited out of the first, not one out of the second epistle. Photius passed this just and true judgment of it, that it is full of many admonitions, delivered with clearness and simplicity, according to the ecclesiastic way and manner of interpretation. It seems to hold a great affinity, both in style and substance, with Clemens's Epistle to the Corinthians; often suggesting the same rules, and making use of the same words and phrases; so that it is not to be doubted but he had that excellent epistle particularly in his eye at the writing of it. Indeed it is a pious and truly Christian epistle, furnished with short and useful precepts and rules of life, and penned with the modesty and simplicity of the apostolic times; valued by the ancients next to the writings of the holy canon: and St. Jerome tells us, that even in his time it was read in *Asiae conventu*,¹ in the public assemblies of the Asian church. It was first published in Greek by P. Halloix, the Jesuit, ann. 1633, and not many years after by bishop Usher: and I presume the pious reader will think it no unuseful digression, if I here subjoin so venerable a monument of the ancient church.

¹ *Ubi supr.*

THE EPISTLE.

Polycarp and the presbyters that are with him, to the church of God which is at Philippi: mercy unto you, and peace from God Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Saviour, be multiplied.

1. I REJOICED with you greatly in our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye entertained the patterns of true love, and (as became you) conducted onwards those who were bound with chains, which are the ornaments of saints, and the crowns of those that are the truly elect of God, and of our Lord; and that the firm root of your faith, formerly published, does yet remain, and bring forth fruit in our Lord Jesus Christ, who was pleased to offer up himself even unto death for our sins: 'whom God raised up having loosed the pains of death':¹ 'in whom, though you see him not, ye believe, and believing ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory';² whereinto many desire to enter, knowing that 'by grace ye are saved, not by works, but by the will of God through Jesus Christ'.³

2. 'Wherefore, girding up your loins,'⁴ serve God in fear and truth, forsaking empty and vain talk-

¹ Acts. ii. 24.

² 1 Pet. i. 8.

³ Eph. ii. 8.

⁴ 1 Pet. i. 13.

ing, and the error wherein so many are involved, believing in him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory,¹ and a throne at his right hand ; to whom all things, both in heaven and in earth, are put in subjection, whom every thing that has breath worships, who comes to judge the quick and the dead, whose blood God will require of them that believe not in him. But he who raised him up from the dead, will raise up us also, if we do his will, and walk in his commandments, and love what he loved, abstaining from all unrighteousness, inordinate desire, covetousness, detraction, false witness ; ‘not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing,’² or striking for striking, or cursing for cursing ; but remembering what the Lord said when he taught thus, ‘ Judge not, that ye be not judged ; forgive, and ye shall be forgiven ; be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy : with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.’³ And that ‘ Blessed are the poor, and they which are persecuted for righteousness’ sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God.’⁴

3. These things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness, not of my own humour, but because yourselves did provoke me to it. For neither I, nor any other such as I am, can attain to the wisdom of blessed and glorious St. Paul ; who being among you, and conversing personally with those who were then alive, firmly and accurately taught the word of truth ; and when absent, wrote epistles to you, by which, if you look into them, ye may be built in the faith delivered unto

¹ 1 Pet. i. 21.

² 1 Pet. iii. 9.

³ Matt. vii. 1 ; Luke, vi. 36, 38. ⁴ Matt. v. 3, 10.

you, which is the mother of us all, being followed by hope, and led on by love, both towards God and Christ, and to our neighbour. For whoever is inwardly replenished with these things, has fulfilled the law of righteousness ; and he that is furnished with love, stands at a distance from all sin. But love of money is the beginning of all evil. Knowing therefore that ‘ we brought nothing into the world, and that we shall carry nothing out,’ let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness ; and in the first place be instructed ourselves to walk in the commands of the Lord, and next teach your wives to live in the faith delivered to them, in love, and chastity ; that they embrace their own husbands with all integrity, and others also with all temperance and continency ; and that they educate and discipline their children in the fear of God. The widows, that they be sober and modest concerning the faith of the Lord ; that they incessantly intercede for all, and keep themselves from all slandering, detraction, false witness, covetousness, and every evil work ; as knowing that they are the altars of God, and that he accurately surveys the sacrifice, and that nothing can be concealed from him, neither of our reasonings, nor thoughts, nor the secrets of the heart. Accordingly, knowing that God is not mocked, we ought to walk worthy of his command, and of his glory.

4. Likewise let the deacons be unblamable before his righteous presence, as the ministers of God in Christ, and not of men ; not accusers, not double-tongued, not covetous, but temperate in all things ; compassionate, diligent, walking according to the

truth of the Lord, who became the deacon or servant of all: of whom, if we be careful to please him in this world, we shall receive the reward of the other life, according as he has promised to raise us from the dead; and if we walk worthy of him, 'we believe that we shall also reign with him.' Let the young men also be unblamable in all things, studying in the first place to be chaste, and to restrain themselves from all that is evil. For it is a good thing to get above the lusts of the world, seeing every lust wars against the spirit; and that 'neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind shall inherit the kingdom of God,'¹ not whoever commits base things.

5. Wherefore it is necessary that ye abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as to God and Christ. That the virgins also walk with a chaste and undefiled conscience. Let the presbyters be tender and merciful, compassionate towards all, reducing those that are in error, visiting all that are weak; not negligent of the widow and the orphan, and him that is poor, but ever providing what is honest in the sight of God and men; abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unrighteous judgment; being far from covetousness, not hastily believing a report against any man, nor rigid in judgment; knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to punishment. If therefore we stand in need to pray the Lord that he would forgive us, we ourselves ought also to forgive. For we are before the eyes of him who is Lord and God, and 'all must stand before the judgment-seat

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

of Christ, and every one give an account of himself.¹ Wherefore let us serve him with all fear and reverence, as he himself has commanded us, and as the apostles have preached and taught us, and the prophets who foreshowed the coming of our Lord. Be zealous of that which is good, abstaining from offences and false brethren, and those who bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who seduce and deceive vain men ; for ‘every one that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is anti-Christ ;’² and he who doth not acknowledge the martyrdom of the cross, is of the devil ; and whoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his private lusts, and shall say, that there is neither resurrection nor judgment to come, that man is the first-born of Satan. Leaving therefore the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to that doctrine that from the beginning was delivered to us : let us be watchful in prayers, persevering in fasting and supplications, beseeching the all-seeing God that he would not lead us into temptation ; as the Lord has said, ‘the spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak.’³ Let us unweariedly and constantly adhere to Jesus Christ, who is our hope and the pledge of our righteousness, ‘who bare our sins in his own body on the tree, who did not sin, neither was guile found in his mouth,’⁴ but endured all things for our sakes, that we might live through him. Let us, then, imitate his patience, and if we suffer for his name, we glorify him ; for such a pattern he set us in himself, and thus we have believed and entertained.

¹ Rom. xiv. 9, 10.

² 1 John, iv. 3 ; 2 Epist. v. 7.

³ Matt. xxvi. 41.

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 22, 24.

6. I exhort you, therefore, all, that ye be obedient to the word of righteousness, and that you exercise all manner of patience, as you have seen it set forth before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus; but in others also among you, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the apostles; being assured that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness; and are arrived at the place due and promised to them by the Lord, of whose sufferings they were made partakers. For they loved not this present world, but him who both died and was raised up again by God for us. Stand fast, therefore, in these thin and follow the example of the Lord; being firm and immutable in the faith, lovers of the brethren, and kindly affectionate one towards another, united in the truth, carrying yourselves meekly to each other, despising no man. When it is in your power to do good, defer it not, for alms delivereth from death. Be all of you subject one to another, having your conversation honest among the Gentiles; that both you yourselves may receive praise by your good works, and that God be not blasphemed through you. For wo unto him, by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed. Wherefore teach all men sobriety, and be yourselves conversant in it.

7. I am exceedingly troubled for Valens, who was sometimes ordained a presbyter among you, that he so little understands the place wherein he was set. I therefore warn you, that you abstain from covetousness, and that ye be chaste and true. Keep yourselves from every evil work. But he that in these things cannot govern himself, how shall he preach it to another? If a man refrain not from covetousness, he will be defiled with idolatry, and

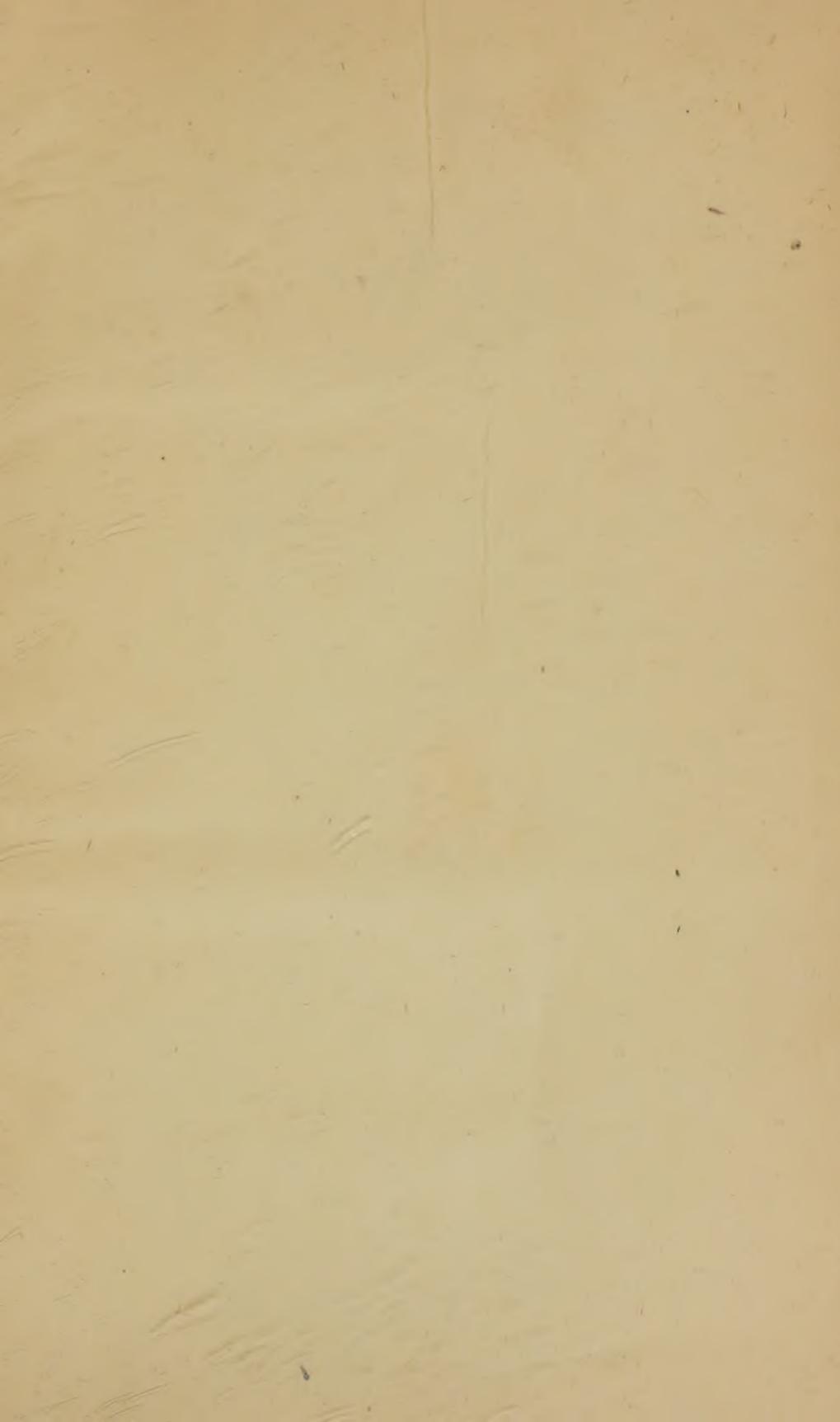
shall be judged among the heathen. Who is ignorant of the judgment of the Lord? ‘Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?’¹ as Paul teaches. But I have neither found any such thing in you, nor heard any such thing of you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, and who are in the beginning of his epistle. For of you he boasts in all those churches, which only knew God at that time, whom as yet we had not known. I am, therefore, brethren, greatly troubled for him and for his wife; the Lord give them true repentance. Be ye also sober as to this matter, and account not such as enemies, but restore them as weak and erring members, that the whole body of you may be saved; for in so doing ye build up yourselves.

8. I trust that ye are well exercised in the holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you; a thing as yet not granted to me. As it is said in these places, ‘be angry and not sin;’ and ‘let not the sun go down upon your wrath.’ Blessed is he that is mindful of these things, which I believe you are. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Christ Jesus the eternal High-priest and Son of God, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, that you may be without anger, in patience, forbearance, long-suffering, and chastity, and give you a portion and inheritance amongst his saints: and to us together with you, and to all under heaven, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Father, who raised him from the dead. Pray for all saints: pray also for kings, magistrates, and princes, and even for them that hate and persecute you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your

fruit may be manifest in all, that you may be complete in him.

9. Ye wrote unto me, both ye and Ignatius, that if any one go into Syria, he might carry your letters along with him: which I will do so soon as I shall have a convenient opportunity, either myself, or by some other, whom I will send upon your errand. According to your request, we have sent you those epistles of Ignatius which he wrote to us, and as many others of his as we had by us, which are annexed to this epistle, by which ye may be greatly profited. For they contain in them faith and patience, and whatever else is necessary to build you up in our Lord. Send us word what you certainly know both concerning Ignatius himself and his companions. These things have I written unto you by Crescens, whom I have hitherto commended to you, and do still recommend. For he has unblamably conversed among us, as also I believe amongst you. His sister also ye shall have recommended, when she shall come unto you. Be ye safe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you all. Amen.

THE END.



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